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THE
ESSAYS
OF
FRANCIS BACON,
BARON OF VERULAM,
VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN,
AND
LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND,
ON
Civil, Moral, Literary, and Political Subjects.
TOGETHER WITH
THE LIFE
OF THAT CELEBRATED WRITER.
A NEW EDITION.
IN TWO VOLUMES.

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THE

ESSAYS

FRANCIS BACON

BARON OF VERULAM

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY JOHN E. SPENCER

AND A HISTORY OF HIS TIMES

TOGETHER WITH

A HISTORY OF THE

REFORMATION IN ENGLAND

AND THE RISE OF THE

PROTESTANT CHURCH

VOL. I

LONDON

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TO THE

Right Honourable my very good Lord

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM,

LORD HIGH ADMIRAL OF ENGLAND.

EXCELLENT LORD,

SOLOMON says, "A good name
"is as a precious ointment;" and
I assure myself, such will your Grace's
name be with posterity. For your
fortune and merit both have been emi-
nent; and you have planted things that
are like to last. I now publish my
ESSAYS, which of all my other works
have been most current; for they come
home to mens business and bosoms. I
have enlarged them, both in number
and weight; so that they are indeed a
new work. I thought it therefore a-

DEDICATION.

greeable to my affection, and obligation to your Grace, to prefix your name before them, both in English and in Latin; for I conceive, that the Latin volume of them, being in the universal language, may last as long as books last. My "Instauration," I dedicated to the king; my "History of Henry the Seventh," (which I have now also translated into Latin), and my "Portions of Natural History," to the prince; and these I dedicate to your Grace; being of the best fruits, that by the good increase, which God gives to my pen and labours, I could yield. God lead your Grace by the hand.

Your GRACE's most obliged

And faithful Servant,

FR. ST. ALBAN.

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THE
L I F E
OF THE
A U T H O R.
BY DR. W I L L R M O T T.

FRANCIS BACON, the glory of his age and nation, the adorning and ornament of learning, was born in *York-Place*, in the *Strand*, on the twenty-second of *January*, in the year of our Lord 1560. His father was a famous counsellor to *Queen Elizabeth*, the second prop of the kingdom, in his time, *Sir Nicholas Bacon*, knight, Lord-keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, a worthy man, of known prudence, judgment, moderation, and integrity: his mother was *Anne Cook*, a daughter of *Sir Anthony*

thony Cook, knight, unto whom the education of King *Edward* the Sixth was committed; a lady eminent for piety, virtue, and learning; being exquisitely skilled, in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues. These being the parents, any one might easily make an early conjecture what the issue was like to be, having had all the advantages that nature and education could give him.

His first and tender years of childhood passed not without remarkable proofs of superior excellency; at which age, he was endued with such a towardness and acuteness of wit, as gave great hopes of that profound and universal comprehension, which he was afterwards famous for; and caused him to be taken notice of by several of the nobles, and other persons of eminence for worth and place; and especially by the Queen herself, who, as I have been credibly informed, delighted to talk with him, and to try him with pretty hard questions; before whom he acquitted himself with that gravity and maturity of judgment, above his years, that her Majesty used to call him,

“ The

“ The young Lord Keeper.” When she asked him how old he was, he ingeniously, though but a child, answered, “ That he “ was two years younger than her Majesty’s “ happy administration.”

At the ordinary years of ripeness for university-learning, or rather something earlier, by order of his father, he was entered of *Trinity College*, under the care of the Rev. *John Whitgift*, doctor of divinity, then master of the college, afterwards archbishop of *Canterbury*, a prelate of the first magnitude, for sanctity, learning, patience, and humility; under whom he was observed to have made a wonderful progress above any of his cotemporaries, in the liberal arts and sciences. While he was a student in the university, when about sixteen years of age, as his lordship has been pleased to impart, he first took a dislike to the *Aristotelian* philosophy, not from any undervalue entertained of the author, whom he ever used to extol very highly, but for the unfruitfulness of the way; being a philosophy, as his lordship was often pleased to say, made only for disputations and contentions, but of no use for the production

production of works for the benefit of human life. In which mind he continued to the end of his existence.

AFTER he had run the circle of the liberal arts, his father thought fit to frame and mould him to the arts of state; and for that end sent him to *France*, in the retinue of Sir *Amyas Paulet*, then designed ambassador in ordinary to the *French* king; by whom he was, after a while, held fit to be sent back to *England* with a message to the queen. Which being performed, not without thanks from her Majesty, he returned a second time to *France*, with an intention not to see *England* again for some years. During his travels, his father the Lord Keeper, died; leaving, as I have understood, a considerable sum of money, collected with intention to have made a purchase of land for the use of this his youngest son, who was the only one unprovided for after his father's death; and though he had the least part of his father's estate, he had a principal share in his affection; but this purchase being designed only while his father was alive, and not accomplished, there came no greater share to him than

than his single part, and portion of the money dividable among five brothers; which was the cause of his living very œconomically in his younger years. The noble and pleasant manor of *Gorbambury* he came not to till many years after, by the death of his brother *Anthony Bacon*, a celebrated gentleman, and perfectly well versed in foreign courts, equal to his brother in height of wit, but inferior to him in the knowledge of the liberal arts; between whom there was a great affection, they two being the sole male issue of a second wife.

BEING returned from *France*, he was to resolve upon a course of life; therefore he applied himself to the study and profession of the Common-law, in which he attained to great excellence in a short time; though, to use his own words, he made that knowledge but as an accessory, not as his principal study. He published very early, several tracts upon that subject, wherein, though some great masters of the law outwent him, perhaps, in bulk and number of cases, yet in weight, and in the knowledge of the grounds

grounds and mysteries of the law, he was exceeded by none.

BEFORE he was out of his *Freshmanship* in the law, he was sworn of the *Queen's Council Learned Extraordinary*; a grace, as I have been told, scarce ever indulged to any before. He seated himself for the convenience of his studies, and practice, among the honourable society of *Gray's-Inn*; of which he was admitted a member, where he erected that elegant pile, or structure, commonly known by the name of, "The Lord *Bacon's* lodgings;" which he inhabited by turns some few years only excepted, unto his death: in which society he carried himself with such sweetness, pleasantry, and generosity of spirit, that he was much revered and loved by the seniors, and young gentlemen of the house.

BUT notwithstanding that he stuck to the profession of the law, for his livelihood and subsistence, yet, in his heart and affection, he was carried more to political arts, and places of state; for which, if her Royal Majesty

Majesty had then pleased, he was singularly qualified. In his younger years, he joined himself with those that studied the service and fortunes of the noble, but unfortunate Earl of *Essex*, whom he served, to the utmost of his power, as a private and most faithful counsellor; and endeavoured to instil into him safe and honourable advice, till, in the end, the Earl hearkening to the counsels of rash and violent persons, hurried himself into ruin,

His birth, and ingenuous qualifications, gave him, above others of his profession, an easy and free access to court, and consequently to the Queen's presence; who vouchsafed to discourse with him in private, and with great familiarity, whenever it was convenient, not only about matters of his profession, and law-business, but also about the arduous affairs of the state; in whose answers from time to time, she was much satisfied. Nevertheless, though she cheared him with the bounty of her countenance, yet she never bestowed the bounty of her hand, having never conferred upon him any office, whether of honour or profit, save only

only a reversion of the Register's-Office in the Star-Chamber, worth about 1600*l. per annum*; for which he waited, in expectation near twenty years; of which office his lordship, in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, pleasantly said, "That it was like another man's " ground lying upon his house, which " might mend his prospect, but did not fill " his barn." Nevertheless, in the reign of King *James*, he at last enjoyed it, and managed it by a deputy. But this could not be any ways imputed to a disaffection, or averfeness in the Queen towards him, but to the arts and emulation of a certain peer at that time in great favour with the Queen, who laboured to depress and keep him down, lest, if he had risen to any pitch, his own glory might have been obscured by him.

BUT though he met little promotion in the days of his mistress Queen *Elizabeth*, yet after the change of administration, and coming in of his new master King *James*, he made a hasty progress; by whom he was remarkably advanced into places of trust, honour, and profit. I have seen a letter in his lordship's own hand to King *James*, wherein he

he acknowledges, " That he was that master to him, that had raised and advanced him nine times; thrice in dignity, and six times in office." The offices he meant were, I conceive, " Council Learned extraordinary to His Majesty, as he had been before to Queen *Elizabeth*; King's Solicitor-General; King's Attorney-General; Privy-Counsellor (being yet but attorney); Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*; lastly, Lord Chancellor:" which two last places, though they be the same in authority and power, yet they differ in patent, height, and favour of the prince; since which none of his successors were ever graced with the title of *Lord Chancellor* to this day. His dignities were, first, *Knight*; then, *Baron of Verulam*; lastly, *Viscount St. Alban*; besides other gifts and bounties which his Majesty was pleased to give him, both out of the Broad Seal and Alienation Office.

TOWARDS his rising years, he had thoughts of marriage. Accordingly he chose *Alice*, one of the daughters and co-heiresses of *Benedict Barnham*, Esquire, and Alderman of *London*;

London ; with whom he received a sufficiently ample and liberal portion, as well in land as money. By her he had no children ; which, though they be a means to perpetuate our name after death, yet he had the fortune to be blessed with another issue to perpetuate his memory, the issue of his brain, in which he was ever happy, and wonderful ; like *Jupiter*, when he brought forth *Pallas*. Neither did the want of children, in the least, abate his affection to his consort, whom he ever bore the highest conjugal love, and marks of respect for ; with many rich gifts and settlements, besides a matrimonial robe of honour, which she wore twenty years after his death. For so long she survived her husband.

THE last five years of his life, withdrawing from civil affairs, and an active life, he employed wholly in contemplation and studies. A thing which he seems to have had most at heart ; as if he had affected to die in the shade, rather than in the light : which plain discoveries are to be met with, in perusing his works. He composed the greatest part of his books, both in *English* and *Latin* ;
which

which I will endeavour to enumerate in the just order of time (being present, and observing it) wherein they were written. They stand thus : “ The History of the “ Reign of *Henry* the Seventh, King of *England*, in the *English* tongue.” *Abecedarium Naturæ* ; a Metaphysical piece, which by some ill fate is lost. *Historia Venterum*. *Historia Vitæ et Mortis*. *Historia Denfi, et Rari*, now first printed. *Historia Gravis, & Levis*; which is also lost. These books written in *Latin*. Afterwards certain fragments in *English*; as, A Discourse of a War with *Spain*. A Dialogue touching an Holy War. The Fable of the New *Atlantis*. A Preface to a Digest of the Laws of *England*. The beginning of the History of the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth King of *England*. There had passed between, a work concerning the Advancement of Learning; in the translating of which, without help, out of *English* into *Latin*, he laboured exceedingly, and enriched it every where with many and various additions. Afterwards, Counsels Civil and Moral, (called before *Essays*) but then enlarged both in number and weight, in the *English* tongue. The Conversion of certain

Psalms of *David* into *English* Verse. The Translation of certain Writings of his, out of *English* into *Latin*; as, The History of King *Henry* the Seventh. Counsels Civil and Moral; called afterwards, *Sermones Fideles*; or *Interiora Rerum*. The Dialogue of the Holy War; and, The Fable of the New *Atlantis*, to gratify foreigners, who, he was told, had a desire to see them. His book of The Wisdom of the *Antients* revised. *Inquisitio de Magnete*. *Topica Inquisitionis de Luce & Lumine*. Lastly, *Sylva Sylvarum*; or The Natural History, an *English* Piece. And these were the fruits and productions of his last years. Books wrote before that time, I do not mention. His Lordship also designed, at the desire of his Majesty King *Charles*, to have written the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth: But that book went no further than design only, God not indulging our glorious author longer life. However there is a specimen extant of that history, being the product of a few morning hours of one day, amongst his Lordships Miscellaneous Works, published in *English*; by which you may see, *ex ungue Leonem*.

THERE

THERE is a commemoration due, as well to the virtues and abilities of this great man, as to the course of his life. Those abilities, which commonly are parted, and go single in other men, though of prime parts, met together and were married, as it were in him. These were, sharpness of wit, strength of memory, a piercing judgment, and a flowing elocution. For the former three, his books abundantly speak; of which (as *Hirtius* says of *Julius Cæsar*) “how well
“and correctly he wrote them, let the
“world judge; but with what ease and
“quickness he dictated them, I know myself.” But for the fourth, that is, his elocution, I shall mention what I heard Sir *Walter Rawleigh* (whose judgment may well be trusted) once speak of him;
“That the Earl of *Salisbury* was a good
“speaker, but no good pen-man; on the
“other hand, that the Earl of *Northampton*
“was a good pen-man, but no speaker;
“but that Sir *Francis Bacon* excelled in
“both speaking and writing.”

I HAVE often thought, that if there was any man whom God vouchsafed to illumi-

nate with a beam of human knowledge, in these modern times, it was undoubtedly him.

For though he was a great reader of books, yet that he drew his knowledge from books only, must never be granted; but from certain principles and notions, lighted up within himself; which notwithstanding he vented not rashly, but with great caution, and circumspection. His *Novum Organum*, he laboured and revised from year to year, and every year still further polished and amended, till at last it came to that frame, in which it was published: as many living creatures lick their young, till they bring them to strength of limbs.

IN the composing of his books, he principally drove at strength and perspicuity of expression; not elegance, or spruceness of language. And in writing or dictating, would often ask, "If the meaning were expressed clearly and plainly enough?" As knowing it fit, that words should be subservient to matter, not matter to words. And if he happened to hit upon a polite stile, (as he was reckoned a master of the *English* tongue) it was because he could do no otherwise.

otherwise. Neither was he taken with trifling and playing upon words; but ever industriously avoided it; well knowing that such follies are but deviations and digressions from the scope intended, which prejudice and derogate not a little, from the gravity and dignity of the stile.

He was no plodder upon books, for though he read much, and that with great judgment, and rejection of impertinences incident to many authors, yet he would use some relaxation of mind with his studies; as gentle walking, coaching, slow riding, playing at bowls, and other such-like exercises. Yet he would lose no time; for upon his first return, he would immediately fall to reading or thinking again; and so suffered no moment to be lost, and pass by him unprofitably.

You might call his table a refection of the ear, as well as the stomach; like the *Noctes Atticæ*, or entertainments of the *Deipnosophists*; wherein a man might be refreshed in his mind and understanding, no less than

in his body. I have known some men of mean parts, that have professed to make use of their note-books, when they have risen from his table. He never took a pride as is the humour of some, in putting any of his guests, or that otherwise discoursed with him to the blush; but was ever ready to countenance and encourage their abilities, whatever they were. Neither was he one that would appropriate the discourse to himself alone, but left a liberty to the rest of the company to take their turns; and he took pleasure to hear a man speak in his own faculty, and would draw him on, and allure him to discourse upon different subjects. And for himself, he despised no man's observations; but would light his torch at any man's candle.

His opinions and assertions, were scarce ever controverted; and while he discoursed, all hearkened, and none contradicted; as if he had uttered oracles, rather than discourses. Which I think, may be imputed, either to the exact weighing of his sentence, before he declared it in the scales of truth and reason; or to the esteem wherein he was universally

versally held, that no man would contest with him. So that there was seldom any argument, or *pro* and *con* known at his table; and when there chanced to be any, it was carried with much submission and moderation.

I HAVE observed, and so have other men of great weight, that if he had occasion, in discourse, to repeat another man's words, he had a faculty to dress them in new and better apparel: so that the author should find his own speech altered in the stile, but in sense and substance the same; as if it had been natural to him to use good Forms: as *Ovid* spake of his faculty of versifying;

Et quod tentabam dicere, Versus erat.

Whenever his office obliged him (as he was of the King's Council) to charge any offender, either in criminal or capital matters, he never shewed any thing of haughtiness, or insult over the delinquent; but behaved himself with mildness, and decent temper; and though he knew it his duty, as concerned for the King, to charge the party

home, yet he carried it so as to cast a severe eye upon the example, and a merciful eye upon the person. And in affairs of state, when he was made of the Privy-Council, he observed an excellent method of advising; not engaging his master in any precipitate, or unpopular and oppressive counsels; but in moderate, and equal courses: King *James* honouring him with this testimony, “ that
“ he had the knack of managing business in
“ a pleasing agreeable manner; and declared,
“ that was the way which was most accord-
“ ing to his own heart.”

NEITHER was he, when there was occasion, less gracious with the subjects of the kingdom, than with the King himself. He was ever very acceptable to the House of Commons, while he was a member thereof; being the King's attorney, and chosen to a place in parliament, he was allowed and dispensed with to sit in the House, which was not permitted to other attornies. And as he had the reputation of a good servant to his master, being never in nineteen years service, (as he averred) rebuked by the King, for any offence relating to his Majesty; so he had
the

the character of a good master to his own servants; and freely rewarded their long attendance with good places, when they fell into his power; which was the cause why he was almost tired with importunities, to admit so many young gentlemen of blood and quality into the number of his retinue. And if any of them made an ill use of his grace and favour, it must be imputed only to an error in the goodness of his nature, and be a perpetual mark of infamy and indiscretion upon them.

THIS great man was strictly religious; for though the world are apt to brand great politicians, and exalted wits, with the name of *Atheists*, yet he was conversant with God, as evidently appears by various testimonies, scattered throughout the whole thread of his works. Otherwise he would have destroyed, and overturned his own principles, which were, “ That a smattering in philosophy
“ draws the mind from God, as attributing
“ too much to second causes; but a full
“ draught of philosophy, brings it about
“ again to God.” Now that he was a deep philosopher, I believe there is no one
will

will deny. And not only so, but he was both able and ready “to render a reason “of the hope that was in him;” which the confession of faith written by him, does abundantly testify. He repaired frequently, when his health would permit him, to the service of the church, to hear sermons, to the administration of the sacrament, and at last died in the true faith, established in the church of *England*.

THIS may be laid down for a certain truth, that he was entirely void of all malice; which, as he said himself, “he neither “bred, nor fed.” As for revenging of injuries, he never so much as thought of it; for which if he had been so disposed, he was armed both with opportunity and power. He was not accustomed to turn men out of their places; as if the ruin and undoing of others were fatness to his bones. He was no defamer of any man to his prince. One day, when a great statesman, that had been no friend of his, was just dead, the King asked him, “What he thought of that “Lord who was gone;” to whom he made answer, “That he was one that never
“ver

“ ver would have advanced or improved his
“ Majesty’s estate; but undoubtedly he
“ would have done his best to keep it from
“ being worse.” Which I reckon not
among his moral, but his Christian virtues.

His fame is greater, and sounds louder abroad, and in foreign parts, than at home, in his own nation; thereby verifying the divine oracle, that “ A prophet is not without
“ honour, save in his own country, and in
“ his own house.” Concerning which, I will give you a taste only, out of a letter written from *Italy*, (the store-house of refined wits) to the late Earl of *Devonshire*, then Lord *Cavendish*. It was thus: “ I
“ will expect the *New Essays* of my Lord
“ Chancellor *Bacon*; as also his history,
“ and whatever else he is composing, with
“ great impatience: but particularly, in his
“ history I promise myself a perfect and
“ finished piece, especially in *Henry* the
“ seventh; where he will have scope to exercise the talent of his divine understanding. This Lord is daily more and more
“ known, and his works here more and
“ more

“ more delighted in; and those men that
“ have a more than ordinary insight into
“ human affairs, esteem him one of the
“ most capable, and sublime spirits of this
“ age; and he is truly such.”

His fame does not decay by length of time, but rather encreases. Many of his books have been taught to speak other languages, as well learned as modern, both heretofore, and lately, by the natives of those countries. Several persons of quality, during his Lordship's life, crossed the seas into *England*, for no other reason but to see him, and gain an opportunity of discoursing with him. One of whom he presented with his picture at full length, to carry into *France*; which the stranger acknowledged would be a thing most acceptable to his countrymen, that so they might enjoy the image of his person, as well as the images of his brain, his books. Amongst the rest, the Marquis *Fiat* a *French* nobleman who came ambassador into *England* the first year of Queen *Mary*, wife to King *Charles*, was taken with an extraordinary desire to see him. And meeting with an opportunity

portunity, when he was come into his chamber, being then through weakness confined to his bed, he saluted him in a stile rather of the grandest; "That his Lordship
" had ever been to him like the angels, of
" whom he had heard much, and had also
" read much of them in books, but was never indulged with a sight of them." After this interview, so intimate a friendship was contracted between them, and the Marquis did so much revere him, that besides frequent visits, letters passed between them under the titles and appellations of Father and Son. As for salutations, without number, by letters from foreigners devoted to wisdom, or good learning, I forbear to mention them; because common to other men of note.

BUT when I speak of his fame, I would be understood not in the exclusive, but in the comparative only; for his reputation is not decayed, or weak, but strong and vigorous, among those of his country also; especially such as are of a more acute and sublime understanding; which I will exemplify but with two testimonies. The former is: When
his

his History of the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh was ready for the press, it was delivered by King *James* to the Lord *Brooke* to peruse; who when he had examined it, returned it to the author with his Eulogy; “ Commend me “ to his Lordship, and desire him to get “ good paper and ink, for the work is incomparable.” The other shall be that of Doctor *Samuel Collins*, late professor of divinity, and provost of King’s College in *Cambridge*, a man of refined wit, who affirmed to me, (whether in mirth or earnest) “ That when he had read the book of the “ advancement of learning, he found himself in a case to begin his studies anew; “ and that he had lost all the time of his “ studying before.

It has been desired by many persons, that something should be inserted touching his diet, and the regimen of his health; for by reason of his universal insight into nature, he may perhaps, be to some an example. For his diet, it was rather plentiful and liberal, as his stomach would bear, than low or restrained; which he elsewhere commended in his History of Life and death. In his
younger

younger years he fed chiefly upon the finer and lighter meats, as fowls, and the like, but upon further experience, he approved rather the stronger meats such as the shambles afford; as those meats which bred the stronger and more solid, and, to use his own words, "The less dissipable" juices of the body; and would often eat nothing else, though there were other dishes upon the table. You may be sure he would by no means neglect that himself, which you find so much extolled in his writings; that is, the frequent use of *Nitre*, whereof he took the quantity of about three grains, in thin, warm broth, every morning, for thirty years, more or less, next before his death. As for medicine, it is true, that he lived medically, but not miserably; for he constantly took half a dram, and no more, of Rhubarb, infused in a draught of white-wine and beer mingled together, for the space of half an hour, once in six or seven days: and that a little before meat (whether dinner or supper) that it might dry the body the less; which, as he himself asserted, carried away frequently the grosser humours of the body, without causing the spirits to exhale.

HE died on the 19th day of *April*, in the year 1626, early in the morning of the day celebrated for our Saviour's resurrection, in the 66th year of his age, at the Earl of *Arundel's* house in *Highgate* near *London*; to which place he casually repaired eight days before for diversion, and not with design to stay; God so ordaining that he should die there of a gentle fever, accompanied with a violent defluxion, whereby the rheum fell so plentifully upon his breast, that it suffocated him. He was buried in *St. Michael's* church, at *St. Albans*; the place appointed for his burial by his last will and testament, both because the body of his mother was interred there, and because it was the only church remaining from the ruins of old *Verulam*, where he has a noble monument of white marble erected for him, by the care and gratitude of Sir *Thomas Meutys*, Knight, his executor, and formerly his Lordship's secretary, and afterwards Clerk of the Privy-Council under two kings, representing his effigies sitting in a chair, and studying; together with an epitaph composed out of love and admiration, by that accomplished gentleman and bright wit, Sir *Henry Wootton*.

THE
E S S A Y S
O F
FRANCIS, LORD BACON,
VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN.

O F T R U T H.

WHAT is Truth? said scoffing *Pilate*; and would not stay for an answer. Certainly there are many who delight in giddiness of thought, and count it a bondage to be tied up to a fixed belief, or steadiness of opinion, affecting the use of free will in thinking, as well as in acting. And though the sects of philosophers of that kind are gone, yet there remain certain windy discoursing wits, who are of the same veins, though there is not so much blood in them as in those of the ancients. But it is not only the difficulty and labour,

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bour, which men undergo in finding out Truth; nor, when found, the slavery it imposes upon men's thoughts, that brings Lies in favour but a natural, though corrupt love of the Lie itself. One of the later school of the Grecians examines the matter, and is at a stand to think what there should be in it, that men should love a Lie, where it neither makes for pleasure, as with poets, nor for advantage, as with the merchant, but for the Lie's sake. But I know not how, Truth, like a naked and open day-light, does not shew the masquerades and triumphs, the farces and fooleries of this world, half so magnificently and advantageously, as torches and candle-light Truth may perhaps come up to the value of a pearl, that shews best by day, but it will never rise to the price of a diamond or carbuncle, that shines brightest in varied lights. The mixture of a Lie ever adds to pleasure; and does any man doubt that if there were taken out of men's minds vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations of things, imaginations at pleasure, and the like; but it would leave the minds of a number of men, poor, dejected, shrunken things, full of melan-

melancholy and languor, uneasy and unpleasing to themselves?

ONE of the fathers in great severity, calls poesy the wine of devils, because it fills the imagination with vain things; though poesy is but the shadow of a Lie; but it is not the Lie passing through the mind, which does the hurt, but the lie that sinks in and settles in it, such I mean as we have spoken of before. But however these things are in men's depraved judgments and affections, yet Truth, which only judges itself, teaches, that the inquiry after Truth which is the love-making or wooing of it, the knowledge of Truth, which is the presence of it, and the reception of, and assent to Truth, which is the enjoying of it, is the sovereign good of human nature.

THE first creature of God in the six days work, was the light of sense; the last, the light of reason; and his Sabbath-work, ever since, is the illumination of his spirit. First he breathed light upon the face of matter, or *chaos*; next into the face of man; and still he breathes and inspires light into

the face of his chosen. The Poet that beautified the sect, which was otherwise inferior to the rest, says in a very descriptive manner :
“ It is a pleasure to stand upon the shore,
“ to see ships tossed upon the waves: A
“ pleasure to stand at the window of a
“ castle, to behold an engagement, and
“ the various events thereof below. But
“ no pleasure is comparable to the stand-
“ ing upon the ground of Truth :” a hill
not to be commanded, where the air is
always clear and serene; “ and from
“ thence to behold the errors and wander-
“ ings, the mists and tempests in the vale
“ beneath :” Provided this prospect is with
pity, and not with swelling or pride. Certainly it is a heaven upon earth, when a man’s mind moves in charity, rests in Providence, and turns upon the poles of Truth.

BUT to pass from theological and philosophical Truth, to Truth, or rather veracity in civil business, it will be acknowledged, even by those who do not practise it, that clear and round dealings is the honour of man’s nature; and that mixture of falsehood is like alloy

alloy in coin of gold and silver, which may make the metal work the better, but yet debaseth it, for these winding and crooked courses are the goings of the serpent, which moves basely upon the belly, and not upon the feet. There is no vice that so overwhelms a man with shame, as when he is found false or perfidious: and therefore Montaign says very acutely, when he inquired the reason, why the giving the Lie should be such a disgraceful and odious charge; "If it be well weighed," (says he,) "to say that a man lies, it is as much " as to say, that he is a bravado towards " God, and a coward towards men." For the liar insults God, and crouches to man. Surely the wickedness of falsehood, and breach of faith cannot possibly be more highly expressed, than that it shall be the last warning to call down the judgments of God upon the generations of men; it being foretold, that Christ at his second coming shall not find faith upon earth.

OF UNITY IN RELIGION.

RELIGION being the chief band of human society, it is right that it should be contained within the bands of true Unity and charity. Quarrels and divisions about Religion, were evils unknown to the heathens; and no wonder, since the Religion of the heathens consisted rather in rites and external worship of their gods, than in any constant confession and belief. For it is easy to guess what kind of faith they possessed, when the chief doctors and fathers of their church were poets. But it is one of the attributes of the true God, that he is a jealous God; therefore his worship will admit of no mixture or partner. We shall therefore speak a few words concerning Unity in the Church; namely, "What are the Fruits, what the bounds, and what the means."

THE fruits of Unity over and above that it is highly pleasing to God, which is all in all

all, are two principally. The one regards those that are without the church, the other, those that are within. For the former, it is certain, that heresies and schisms are of all others the greatest scandals in the church, being even worse than corruption of manners. For as in the natural body, wounds and a solution of continuity, are worse in kind, than corrupt humours; so is it in the spiritual body. So that nothing keeps men so much out of the church, and drives them from it, as breach of Unity; and therefore, whenever it comes to pass, that one saith, *Ecce in deserto*, another, *Ecce in penetralibus*; that is, while some men seek Christ in the conventicles of hereticks; others in an outward face of a church; that voice had need continually to sound in men's ears, *nolite exire*, go not out.

THE great doctor of the Gentiles, whose, peculiar vocation and mission enjoined him to have a special care of those without, said;
“ If an infidel or an heathen enter your congregations, and hear you speak with divers tongues, will he not say that you are mad ?” And certainly it is little bet-

ter, when atheists and profane persons do see such contentions, and so many discordant opinions in religion; for this turns them from the church, and makes them "Sit down in the chair of the scorers." It may seem too light a thing, to be cited in so serious a treatise, but yet it very excellently expresses its deformity. A great master of scoffing, in his catalogue of books of a feigned library, amongst the rest, sets down a book with this title, "The Antick Dances, and Gesticulations of Hereticks." For every sect of them has a certain ridiculous posture, and deformity of cringe, peculiar to itself, which cannot but meet with derision in libertines, and depraved politicians, who are apt to contemn religion.

As for the fruit of Unity, redounding to those that are within, it is in one word, peace, which contains infinite blessings; for it establishes faith, it kindles charity; nay, the outward peace of the church distills by degrees into inward peace of conscience; and it turns the labours of writing and reading
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controversies, into treatises of devotion, and mortification.

As to the bounds and limits of Unity, the true and just placing of them is doubtless of exceeding great import to all things in religion. And in stating these, there appear to be two extremes, for to certain zealots, all mention of pacification is odious; "Is it peace, Jehu? What hast thou to do with peace? turn thee behind me." As though peace were not the matter, but sect and party. On the contrary, certain Laodiceans, and luke-warm persons think they may accommodate points of religion by a medium, in taking part of both; and by witty reconciliations, as if they meant to be arbitrators between God and man. Both these extremes should be avoided; which will be done, if the league between Christians, penned by our Saviour himself, were in those clauses, that seem at first sight to cross one another, soundly and plainly expounded: "He that is not with us, is against us:" and again, "He that is not against us, is with us:" That is, if the points plainly essential and fundamental
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in religion were truly discerned and distinguished from points not merely of faith, but of opinion, and good intention, established for the sake of order and church policy.— This is a thing that may seem a very trivial matter to many; but if it were done less partially, it would be embraced more generally.

IN this matter, I think it right to give advice, according to my small model. Men ought to take heed of rending God's church, by two kinds of controversy. The first is, when the point controverted is too small and light, not worth the heat and strife about it, being kindled only by contradiction. For as it is acutely and elegantly noted by one of the father's: "Christ's coat indeed
" had no seam: but the church's vesture
" was of divers colours." Whereupon he advises, "Let there be variety in the vesture, but no scissure." For Unity, and Uniformity are widely different. The other is, when the point controverted is weighty indeed, but is driven to an over-great subtilty and obscurity; so that it seems to be a thing rather ingenious than substantial. A



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man that is of judgment and understanding, shall sometimes hear ignorant men squabble about a question; and know well within himself, that those who differ, are in reality of the same sentiment, and mean one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree. And if it comes to pass sometimes in that small distance of judgment, which may be between man and man, shall we not think God above, who searches and knows the heart, discerns clearly, that frail men in some of their controversies, intend really the same thing, and accepts of both? The nature and character of such controversies, is beautifully expressed by *St. Paul* in the warning and precept that he gives concerning it; "Avoid profane novelties of words, and oppositions of science, falsely so called." Men create to themselves oppositions, which in truth are not, and fashion and coin them into new terms, which are so fixed and unvariable, that though the meaning ought to govern the term, the term governs the meaning.

THERE are also, as of controversies, so of Unities, two kinds, which may be reckoned adult-

adulterate. The one, when the peace is grounded upon an implicit ignorance, (for all colours agree in the dark :) the other, when it is pieced and patched up of positions diametrically opposite to one another in fundamental points; for truth and falsehood in such thing, are like the iron and clay in the toes of the image that *Nebuchadnezzar* saw in a dream; they may cleave, but they will not incorporate.

Now as to the means of obtaining Unity, men must beware, that in the procuring and defending religious Unity, they do not dissolve and demolish the laws of charity and society. There are but two swords amongst christians; the spiritual and temporal; and both have their due place and office, in the maintenance and protection of religion. But we must by no means take up the third sword, which is *Mahomet's* sword, or like unto it; that is, to propagate religion by wars, or by sanguinary persecutions to force consciences; except it be in cases of overt-scandal, and insolent blasphemy, or practising against the civil state. much less to nourish seditions; to authorize

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conspiracies and rebellions; to put the sword into the people's hands, and the like; which manifestly tend to the violating the majesty of government, and undermining the authority of magistrates; when all lawful power is by the ordinance of God. For this is to dash one table of the law against the other; and in such degree to consider men as christians, though in the mean time to forget they are men. *Lucretius* the Poet, when he read the act of *Agamemnon's* sacrificing his own daughter, exclaims:

“*Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum!*”

“Such impious acts Religion could persuade!”

CREECH.

WHAT would he have said, if he had known of the massacre of France, or the powder-treason of England? Certainly he would have been seven times more Epicure and Atheist than he was. For as the temporal sword is to be drawn, not rashly, but with great judgment, in cases of religion; so it is monstrous, to put it into the hands of the people. Let that be left unto intemperate zealots. Certainly, it was great blasphemy, when the devil said; “I will ascend
“ and

“ and belike the highest;” but it would be still greater to represent God saying, “ I will descend, and be like the prince of darkness.”

And what is it better, to make the cause of Religion descend and be carryed headlong, to the cruel and execrable action of murdering princes, butchery of people, and utter subversion of states and government? Surely this looks like bringing down the Holy Ghost in the likeness, not of a dove, but of a vulture, or raven : or setting out of the bark of a christian church, a flag of pirates and assassins. Wherefore it is just, and the necessity of the times requires, that the church by doctrine and decree, princes by their sword, and all learning, whether religious or moral, by a Mercury-rod, should condemn for ever such facts and doctrines, which give any support or encouragement to the same, as hath been long since done in good part. Certainly it is to be wish'd, that in all counsels concerning Religion, this counsel of the apostle might be prefixed; the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God. And it was a notable observation of a very wise father, and no less ingenuously confessed; that those who persuade pressure and force of

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consciences, cover their own desires under that position, and think themselves interested therein.

O F R E V E N G E.

REVENGE is a kind of wild justice; which the more it spreads in human nature, the more requires severe laws to weed it out. For the first injury offends the law; but the return of that injury robs the law entirely of its authority.

CERTAINLY, in Revenging an injury, a man is but even with his enemy; but in forgiving it, he is superior: for it is a prince's part to pardon. And *Solomon*, saith: "It is the glory of a man, to pass by an offence." That which is past, cannot be undone again; and wise men think it enough to mind things present, and to come. Therefore they trifle and disturb themselves in vain, that busy themselves about past matters.

No

No man doth a wrong for the wrong's sake; but to purchase himself profit, pleasure, or honour: therefore why should I be angry with a man for loving himself better than me? and if any man should do wrong merely out of malignity: what then? it is but like the thorn and briar, which prick and scratch, because they follow their nature.

REVENGE is excusable in those injuries, for which there is no law to remedy: but then let a man take heed, the Revenge be such, as there is no law to punish: else he doubles his own punishment, and his enemy makes advantage. Some, when they take Revenge, are desirous that the parties hurt should know from what quarter the mischief came upon them. Doubtless this is the more generous affection: for they seem not to be so much delighted with the bare Revenge, as in making the party hurt, repent of what he did. But base and malicious natures, are like the arrow that flieth in the dark.

COSMUS, great duke of Florence, had a desperate sling at perfidious, or neglectful friends:

friends: "We read," says he, "and are commanded to forgive our enemies; but it is no where said, that we are obliged to forgive our friends." But the spirit of *Job* speaks better things: "Shall we," says he, "take good at god's hands, and not sometimes bear evil also?" which is fit to be said of friends too, in some proportion.

This is most certain, that a man who studies Revenge, frets his own wounds, which otherwise being left to themselves, would heal and do well.

Public Revenges are for the most part fortunate; as were those for the death of *Cæsar*, *Pertinax*, *Henry IV.* King of France, and of many more. But in private Revenges, this by no means holds. Nay rather, vindictive persons in a manner live a life of torture, and generally come to an unfortunate end.

OF ADVERSITY.

IT was a very high and exalted speech of *Seneca* (after the manner of the Stoics;) “ That the good things which belong to prosperity are to be wished; but the good things that belong to Adversity are to be admired.” Certainly, if that be rightly termed a miracle, which is above nature, the greatest miracles appear in calamities. There is another speech of his yet higher than the former (much too high for an heathen;) “ It is true greatness, to have the frailty of a man, and the security of a god.” Surely this saying would have been much better in poesy, where such transcendencies are more allowed. And the poets indeed have been busy with it; for it is in effect, the thing which is figured in that strange fiction of the ancient poets, which seems not to be without mystery; nay, and to resemble not obscurely the state of a christian; namely, that of *Hercules*: who, when he went to unbind *Prometheus*, (by *Prometheus* human nature is represented) “ failed the length of the ocean in an earthen vessel or
“ pitch-

“pitcher;” lively describing christian resolution that fails in the frail bark of the flesh, through the waves of the world flowing every way about it.

THE principal virtue of Prosperity, is temperance; of Adversity, fortitude; which in morals is reputed the most heroic virtue. Again, Prosperity belongs to the blessings of the Old Testament; Adversity to the beatitudes of the New, which are both in reality greater, and carry a clearer revelation of the divine favour. Yet, even in the Old Testament, if you listen to *David's* harp, you'll find more lamentable airs, than triumphant ones: and the afflictions of Job, more diffusely handled by the pencil of the holy Ghost, than the felicities of Solomon.

PROSPERITY passes not without abundance of fears and troubles; Adversity likewise is not without its comforts and hopes. Certainly, virtue bears some similitude to some precious odours; which are most fragrant either incens'd or crush'd: for a prosperous fortune best discovers men's vices; but an adverse one their virtues.

OF

SIMULATION

AND

DISSIMULATION.

DISSIMULATION is a sort of abridgement of civil arts, and but a faint kind of policy or wisdom. For it requires great ability and a strong heart, to know when to tell truth, and dare to do it. Therefore it is the weaker sort of politicians that are the great dissemblers.

THIS difference is well noted in *Tacitus*, between *Cæsar Augustus*, and *Tiberius*. For thus he says of *Livia*, “ that she was a
 “ happy composition of the arts of her husband, and the Diffimulation of her son :” attributing Arts of Government, or Policy to *Augustus*, and Diffimulation to *Tiberius*. The same historian in another place brings in *Mucianus* encouraging *Vespasian* to take up
 arms

arms against *Vitellius* in these words:—*
 “ We rise not up against the deep insight
 “ and piercing judgement of *Augustus*, nor
 “ against the extreme cautious old age of
 “ *Tiberius*.” Wherefore these properties of
 arts or policy, and of Dissimulation and
 closeness, are indeed severe habits and facul-
 ties to be distinguished. For if a man have
 that happy acuteness and penetration of
 judgment, as to discern what things are to be
 laid open, what to be kept secret, and what
 to be shewed at half-lights, with an exact
 consideration also of time and person; which
 are indeed arts of state, and arts of life,
 as *Tacitus* well calls them; such Dissi-
 mulation is a hinderance, and a poverty of
 spirit. But if a man cannot attain to that
 degree of judgment and discernment, then
 it is left him generally to be close, and a
 dissembler. For where a man cannot chuse
 or vary in particulars, there it is good to
 take the safest and wariest way in general;
 like going softly by one that cannot well
 see.

* Tac. Hist. B. 11. Ch. 76.

CERTAINLY the ablest men that ever were, have all had an openness and frankness of dealing, and a name of certainty and veracity; but then they were like horses well managed, that knew perfectly when to stop, or turn. And at such times when they thought the case required Diffimulation, if then they used it, the former opinion spread abroad of their good faith and clearness of dealing, made it almost invisible.

THERE are three degrees of this hiding and veiling of a man's self. The first, closeness, reservation, and secrecy; when a man conceals his thoughts and balances himself so even, that no one can easily guess to what side he inclines. The second, Diffimulation in the negative, when a man on purpose lets fall signs and arguments that he is not what he is. And the third, Simulation in the affirmative, when a man industriously and expressly feigns and pretends to be what he is not.

FOR the first of these, Secrecy; it is indeed the virtue of a confessor: and assuredly

edly, the secret man heareth many confessions ; for who will open himself to a blab or a babler? but if a man has the reputation of secrecy, it invites discovery, as the more close air sucks in the more open. And as confession tends to no end relating to worldly matters, but to the ease of a man's conscience ; so certainly secret men come to the knowledge of many things upon a like account ; while men are desirous not so much to impart, as to discharge their minds. In few words, mysteries are due to the silent. Besides to say truth, nakedness is uncomely, as well in mind as in body ; and it adds no small reverence to men's manners and actions, if they be not altogether open. But talkers and weak minds are commonly vain, and credulous : For he that talks what he knows, will also talk what he knows not. Therefore set it down for a maxim, “ That an habit of secrecy is a virtue both
“ political and moral. I may add likewise upon this head, that it is good that a man's face give his tongue leave to speak. For the revealing of a man's mind by the traits of his countenance is a great defect, and a kind of betraying, and the more so, for that

it is many times more marked and believed than a man's words.

For the second, which is Diffimulation, follows many times upon secrecy by a kind of necessity: so that he who will be secret, must be a dissembler in some degree, whether he will or not. For men are too cunning to suffer another to keep an equilibrium between both, without swaying the balance on either side. They will so beset him with questions, that without an obstinate and absurd silence, he must shew an inclination one way, or if he did not, they will gather as much by his silence, as by his speech. As for equivocations they cannot hold out long: so that no man can be secret, unless he gives himself a little scope of Diffimulation, which is as it were, but the emblem of secrecy.

BUT for the third degree, that is Simulation, and false profession, I hold it more culpable, and less politic, unless in great and important matters. Therefore a general custom of Simulation, is a vice rising
either

either from a natural duplicity, or fearfulness; from a constitution of mind that hath some leading faults; which because a man must needs disguise, it makes him practice Simulation in other things also, lest his hand should be out of use. The great advantages of Simulation and Dissimulation are three. First, to lay asleep opposition, and to surprize. For where a man's intentions are published, it is an alarm to call up all that are against him. The second is, that it leaves a man at liberty to retreat, and to draw off from a business without loss of reputation. For if a man engages himself by a manifest declaration, he must go through, or lose his reputation. The third is, that it opens a way to the discovery of other men's counsels. * For to him that opens himself, men will hardly shew themselves adverse; but will fairly let him go on, and turn their freedom of speech to freedom of thought. And therefore it is a good shrewd proverb of the Spaniard; "tell a lie, and find a

* *Ei qui sua consilia profert, non facile quis se adversarium profiteatur, verum, assentabitur potius; & libertatem loquendi in libertatem cogitandi vertet.*

“truth.”

“ truth.” As though Simulation were the key to unlock secrets.

THERE are also three disadvantages of Simulation and Diffimulation, to set it even. First, that they commonly carry with them a shew of fearfulness, which in any business disarms them of all resolution to accomplish the pursuit. The second, that they puzzle and perplex the minds of many, who perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him, and make a man walk almost alone to his own ends. The third, and greatest is, that they deprive a man of one of the principal instruments of action, which is trust and belief. The best composition and temperature is, to have openness in fame and opinion, secrecy in habit, Diffimulation in seasonable use, and a power to feign, if there is no remedy.

OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN.

THE joys of parents are secret, and so are their griefs and fears. They cannot express the one, and do not care to utter the other. Certainly Children sweeten human labours, but they make misfortunes more bitter. They increase the cares of life, but they mitigate the remembrance of death. Perpetuity by generation is common to man and the brute creation; but the memory of merits and works is peculiar to men: and surely a man shall see the noblest works and foundations to have proceeded from Childless men, who have taken care to express the images of their minds, where those of their bodies have failed: so the care of posterity is most in them that have no posterity.

THEY that are the first raisers of their families, are most indulgent towards their Children, for they look upon them not only as the continuance of their species, but of their
their

their works also; and so both Children and Creatures.

THE degrees of affection in parents towards their several Children are often unequal, and sometimes unjust, especially in the mother. Whence Solomon says, "A wise son rejoiceth the father; but the foolish son is the heaviness of his mother."

IN a family of Children, a man shall sometimes see one or two of the eldest respected, and as many of the youngest carested; but in the midst perhaps, some are forgotten, who nevertheless many times prove the most promising. The illiberality of parents in discovering a partiality to their Children, is a very mischievous error, for it makes them base-spirited, given to shifts and tricks, delighting in mean company, and more prone to luxury when in affluence. And therefore it does best, when Parents keep up their authority with their Children, but slacken their purse.

THERE

THERE is a custom, I am sure a foolish one, which has prevailed as well with parents as school-masters and servants, of sowing and breeding emulations between brothers during their childhood, which many times end in quarrels when they are men, and disturb the peace of families.

THE Italians make little difference between Children and Nephews, or near kindred; but so they be of the same blood, they care not much, whether they are their own begotten. And to speak the truth, in nature it is much the same thing, for we often see a nephew resemble an uncle or a kinsman more than his own parent, according as the blood happens to run.

LET Parents take care, while their Children are of tender age, what course of life to fix them to, for then they are most flexible and pliant. And let them not in this choice too much regard the inclination of the Children themselves, as thinking they will take best to that which they have most mind to. It is true, if the affection or aptness of the Children be remarkable towards
any

any vocation, it is not good to cross nature or disposition: But generally the precept is good, *Optimum elige, suave & facile illud faciet consuetudo*. “Chuse the best, Custom “will make it pleasant and easy.” Younger brothers are commonly fortunate, but seldom or never where the elder are disinherited.

OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE.

HE that has a Wife and Children, has given hostages to fortune, for they are impediments to great enterprizes, whether in the way of virtue or wickedness. Certainly the noblest works, (as we said before) and the greatest merits to the public, have proceeded from the unmarried or childless men, who both in affection and fortune have married and endowed the public: yet there are some, who, though they have no Children, are however careless of their memory, and terminate their thoughts with
their

their own lives, looking upon future times as of no import; but it stands more to reason, that those who leave Children should have greatest care of future times, unto which they know they must transmit their dearest pledges: though there are some others who account Wives and Children as incumbrances. There are likewise found some foolish covetous men, that take a pride in having no Children, that they may be thought so much the richer. They have heard probably some say, "Such an one is a very rich man," and others except to it; "Yes, but he has a great charge of Children;" as if they were an abatement of his riches.

BUT the most ordinary cause of a single life is liberty; especially in certain self-pleasing and fantastic minds, which are so exquisitely sensible of every engagement, that they conceive the most trifling restraints as shackles to their inclinations. Bachelors are best friends, best masters, and best servants also; but not always best subjects; for they are light to run away: and in truth almost all fugitives are of that condition.

A SIN-

OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE.

A SINGLE Life doth well with churchmen; for charity will hardly admit of conveniences, much less of superfluities. For judges and magistrates it is a thing indifferent; for if they are easy and corrupt, a servant may be five times worse in catching at such gains, than a Wife. As for soldiers, I perceive the generals in their harangues to their armies, commonly put them in mind of their Wives and Children. And I find the despising of marriage amongst the Turks debases the common soldiery.

CERTAINLY, Wives and Children are a discipline of humanity: and Single Men, though they are many times more bountiful and charitable, because their fortunes are less exhausted; yet, on the other side, they are more cruel and hard-hearted, (good to make severe inquisitors) because their indulgence and tenderness is not so often called upon and excited.

GRAVE natures led by custom, commonly make false husbands; as is said of *Ulysses*, "He preferred his old woman to immortality."—

Chaste

Chaste women are generally proud and forward, as presuming upon the merit of their chastity. It is one of the best bonds both of chastity and obedience in the wife to the husband, if she think him wise; which she will never do, if she find him jealous.

WIVES are young men's mistresses; companions for middle age, and old men's nurses: so that a man has a handle to marry at any age. But yet he was reputed one of the wise men that made answer to the question, when a man should marry—"A young man not yet, an elderly man not at all."

It is often seen, that bad Husbands have good Wives: whether it be, that the price of their husbands kindness is enhanced by the interchange, or that the Wives take a pride in their patience. But this never fails, if the bad husbands were of their own chusing, against their friends consent; for in that case they have always spirit enough to make good their own folly.

OF ENVY.

THERE are none of the affections which are thought to fascinate except Love and Envy. They both cause vehement wishes; they both readily form themselves into imaginations and suggestions; and they both mount up easily into the eye, especially upon the presence of the object; all which points conduce to fascination, if there is such a thing. We see likewise the scripture calls Envy an evil eye: and the astrologers call the evil influences of the stars, evil aspects; so that still there seems to be acknowledged in Envy, and the operation thereof, a certain ejaculation and irradiation from the eye. Nay, some have been so curious as to note, that the times when the stroke or percussion of an envious eye does most hurt, are particularly, when the party envied is beheld in glory and triumph; for this sets an edge upon Envy, and besides at such times the spirits of the person envied
come

come forth most into the outward parts, and so meet the blow.

BUT leaving these curiosities, though not unworthy to be considered in their place, we shall speak to these three points: what persons are most apt to envy—what persons are most subject to be envied—and what is the difference between public and private Envy.

HE that has no virtue himself, envies virtue in another: for mens minds either feed upon, and please themselves with their own good, or others evil; and he that wants the first food, will satisfy himself with the second; and he that is out of hope of arriving at another's virtue, the same gladly depresses the other's fortune, that there may be the less disparity between them.

A MAN that is curious and a meddler in other mens affairs, is commonly envious. For the being very inquisitive about other mens matters, can never proceed from this cause, as it may be of use to a man's own affairs; therefore it follows that such a

man takes a kind of theatrical pleasure in looking upon the fortunes of others; neither can he, that minds his own business only, find much matter for Envy. For Envy is a gadding passion, walks the streets, and does not keep at home:

“ Non est curiosus, quin idem sit malevolus.”

MEN of noble birth are noted to be envious towards new men: For the distance is altered, and it is like a deceit of the eye, that when others come on, they seem to go back.

DEFORMED persons, eunuchs, old men, and bastards are envious: for he that cannot possibly mend his own case, will do what he can to impair another's; unless these defects happen to light upon generous natures, which endeavour to turn their natural defects to the increase of their honour, to the end it may be divulged, that an eunuch or a lame man, did such great things, affecting the honour of a miracle; which was the case of *Narses* the eunuch, and of *Agefilaus* and *amerlane* who were lame.

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THE case is much the same in those that rise again after calamities: for they are commonly angry with the times, and relish other mens calamities as redemptions of their own troubles. They that endeavour to excel in abundance of things out of levity and vain glory, must needs be envious; for they every where meet with objects of Envy; it being impossible, but in so many things some should surpass them. Which was the character of *Adrian* the Emperor, that mortally envied poets, painters and other artificers in those works, wherein he himself had a fancy to excel.

LASTLY, kinsfolks, colleagues, and those that have been bred together, are apt to Envy their equals when they are raised. For this upbraids them with their own fortune, and points at them, and frequently stimulates their memory: moreover, this comparison of fortune falls more into the observation of others; and Envy ever reflects and redoubles from speech and fame. Whence *Cain's* Envy towards his brother *Abel* was the more malignant, because when *Abel's* sacrifice was better ac-

cepted, no body looked on. Thus much for those that are apt to Envy.

As for those that are more or less obnoxious to Envy; first, persons of eminent virtue are less envied when they are advanced, for their promotion seems but due unto them; and no man envies the payment of a debt, but liberality beyond merit. Again, Envy is always joined with comparing, and where there is no comparison there is no Envy; therefore Kings are only envied by Kings. Nevertheless it is observable, that unworthy persons are most envied at their first rising to honour, and afterwards not so much; on the contrary, persons of worth and merit then first meet with Envy, after their fortunes have continued long—— For though their virtue holds the same, yet it has not the same lustre; for fresh men grow up that darken it.

PERSONS of noble blood are less exposed to Envy when honours are heaped upon them; for it seems no other than a debt paid to their ancestors: besides, there seems but little added to their fortune; and Envy, like

like the sun-beams, beats hotter upon a rising ground than upon a flat. And for the same reason, those that are advanced by degrees, undergo less Envy than those that are advanced suddenly and *per saltum*.

THOSE that have great travails, cares and perils joined with their honours, labour less under Envy. For men think that they pay dear for their honours, and begin sometimes rather to pity them; and pity ever healeth Envy: wherefore we may observe commonly, that the more deep and sober sort of politic persons that glitter in honour, are ever bemoaning themselves, what a life they lead: crying *Quanta patimur!* Not that they feel it so, but in order to blunt the edge of Envy. This is to be understood of business that is imposed upon such men, not of what they voluntary take upon themselves. Nothing rouses Envy more than an ambitious and immoderate engrossing of business: and nothing on the other hand extinguishes Envy more, than for a man in the highest honours, to draw nothing from inferior officers: for by this means,

as many ministers as he has, so many screens between him and Envy.

ABOVE all, those stir up Envy most, who carry the greatness of their fortunes in an insolent and proud manner; being never well but while they are boasting of their power, either by outward pomp, or by triumphing over their adversaries or competitors they have overthrown; whereas on the other side, prudent men love sometimes to make sacrifice to Envy, in suffering themselves now and then, on purpose, to be overborne in things that they have not much at heart. Notwithstanding, so much is true, that the carriage of greatness in an open and undissembled manner, so it be without arrogancy and vain glory, occasions less Envy than the withdrawing itself craftily, and as it were by stealth from notice. For in that course, a man does nothing but impeach fortune, as though he were conscious of his own want of worth, and so teaches others to envy him.

To conclude this part: as we said in the beginning, that the act of Envy had somewhat

what in it of witchcraft, so there is no other cure of Envy but the cure of witchcraft; and that is to remove the lot, as they call it, and to lay it upon another.

For which purpose the wiser sort of great persons ever bring in upon the stage some body upon whom to fix the Envy that would otherwise come upon themselves; throwing it off sometimes upon ministers and servants, sometimes upon colleagues and associates. And for that turn there are never wanting persons of violent natures, who, so they may have power and business, make no scruple to purchase it at any rate.

Now to speak of public Envy, and there is some good yet in this; whereas in private Envy there is none at all. For public Envy is a kind of wholesome censure that eclipseth great men when they grow too big; and therefore it is a bridle also to those that are too powerful to keep them within bounds.

THIS

THIS Envy which goeth in the modern languages by the name of discontent, and shall be more fully handled under the title of Sedition, is in kingdoms and states not unlike to Infection. For as Infection spreads upon those parts that are sound, and taints them; so also when Envy is once got into a state, it traduces even the best actions and ordinances, and turns them into faction.— There is little won by intermingling plausible and popular actions, with odious ones; for it does but argue weakness, and fear of Envy, which hurts so much the more; as it is likewise in Infections, which, if you are afraid of them, come upon you the sooner.

AND this public Envy seems to bear more upon principal officers and ministers, than upon Kings and estates themselves: but take this as a rule that seldom fails, if the Envy upon the minister be great, when the cause of it in him is small, or if the Envy be general in a manner, and takes in all the ministers of a state, then the Envy, though secretly, strikes at the King or state itself. And so much for Public Envy, or malevolence, and the difference

ference thereof from private Envy, which we described in the first place.

WE will add this also in general touching the affection of Envy; that of all the affections it is the most importunate and continual: For of other affections there is occasion given but now and then. It was well said that Envy has no holidays, because it ever finds matter to work upon. Whence it is also noted, that Love and envy make men pine, which other affections do not, because they are not continual. Envy also is the vilest of affections, and the most depraved; for which cause it is the proper attribute of the Devil, who is called the envious man—"That sowed tares amongst the wheat by night:" As it always comes to pass that Envy works subtilely, and in the dark, and frequently to the prejudice of the best men.

OF LOVE.

THE stage is more beholden to Love, than the life of man. For as to the stage, Love is always matter of comedy, and now and then of tragedy too; but in life it does much mischief, sometimes like a Syren, sometimes like a fury. You may observe that among all the great and illustrious persons in the memory of man, either ancient or modern, there is not one that has been driven to the mad degree of Love; which shews that great spirits and great business do not admit this weak passion. You must except nevertheless, *Mark Anthony*, the half-partner of the empire of *Rome*, and *Appius Claudius* the *Decemvir*, and great law-giver amongst the *Romans*: the former was indeed a luxurious and voluptuous man, but the latter was an austere and wise man. Whence any one may discern clearly, that Love can find entrance, not only into an open heart, but also, though rarely, into a heart well.

well fortified, if watch is not well kept. It is an abject and poor spirited saying of *Epicurus*, *Satis magnum alter alteri theatrum sumus*: as if man made for the contemplation of Heaven and heavenly objects, should do nothing but adore a little idol, and subject himself though not to the mouth, as beasts are, yet to the eye, which was given undoubtedly for higher purposes.

It is strange to consider the excess of this passion, and how it insults the nature and true value of things by this only, that the speaking in a perpetual strain of exaggeration, is decent in nothing but in Love. Neither does this appear only in the manner of expression; for it has been said that the arch-flatterer, with whom all the petty flatterers have intelligence, is a man's self; but certainly the lover is something more. For no proud man ever thought so absurdly well of himself, as the lover does of the person loved. and therefore it was well said, "That to love, and to be wise, is scarce possible even to a God." Neither does this weakness appear to others only, and not to the party loved; but to the person loved most

most of all, unless the Love be reciprocal. For it is a true rule that Love is ever rewarded, either with reciprocal, or with an inward and secret contempt: It should teach men to beware of this passion, which loses not only other things but itself. As for other losses they are prettily figured in the fable of the poets, "That he that preferred "*Helena*, lost the gifts of *Juno* and *Pallas*." Whoever therefore too much indulges amorous affections, quits both riches and wisdom.

THIS passion hath its floods at the very time, when the mind is softest; that is, in great prosperity, and great adversity:—though this latter hath perhaps been less observed; both which seasons kindle Love, and make it more fervent, which proves it to be the child of folly. They do best, who if they cannot avoid Love, yet make it subservient to their serious affairs and actions of life. For if it interfere once with business, it troubles mens fortunes, and hinders them from being true to their own ends.

I KNOW

I KNOW not how, martial men are given to Love, unless it arises from their being given to wine; for perils commonly expect to be paid in pleasures. There is in man's nature a secret inclination and motion towards Love of others, which if it is not spent upon one, or a few, doth naturally spread itself towards many, and makes men become humane and charitable, as it is seen sometimes in Friars. Nuptial Love makes mankind, friendly Love perfects it, but wanton Love corrupts and debases it.

OF MAGISTRACIES AND DIGNITIES.

MEN in Great Place are thrice servants; servants of the prince or state, servants of fame, and servants of business. So that they enjoy no manner of liberty, neither in their persons, in their actions, nor in their time. A strange kind of desire to covet power, and to lose liberty; or to court power over others, and to divest a man of
 I power

power over himself. The rising unto Place is laborious, and by pains men come to greater pains; often times also, it is not clear of unworthy practices. And by indignities men come to Dignities. The standing is slippery, and the regress is either a downfall, or at least an eclipse, and even this is a sad and melancholy thing. *Cum non sis, qui fueris, non est, cur velis vivere*; nay, there is no retiring, though a man were ever so willing: neither will men retire, when it were reason they should; but they continue impatient of a private life, even when old age or infirmity bear hard upon them, which require ease, and the shade; like old townsmen that will be still sitting before the street door, though they expose themselves to scorn.

CERTAINLY, men in Posts had need to borrow other mens opinions to think themselves happy; for if they judge by their own feeling, they will find no such thing; but when they think with themselves what other men think of them, and how gladly they would change conditions with them, then, and not till then, they are happy, apparently,
by

by report, when perhaps, they find the contrary within. For they are the first sensible of their own griefs, though they are the last of all sensible of their own faults.

CERTAINLY, men in sublime stations are strangers to themselves; and while they are in the hurry of business, they have no time to consult the health, either of body or soul:

" Illi mors gravis incubat,

" Qui notus nimis omnibus,

" Ignotus moritur sibi."

In Office there is great licence to do both good and evil, the latter ought to be reckoned a curse: for in evil, the best condition is, not to be willing; the next, not to be able. Certainly power to oblige is the true and lawful end of ambition. For good thoughts, though God accept them, yet towards men are little better than good dreams, unless they are put in action; and that cannot be without some public place and power, as the commanding ground.

OBLIGATIONS and good works are the true ends of man's labours: and a consci-

ousness of the performance, the accomplishment of his rest. For if a man can be partaker of God's theatre, he shall likewise be partaker of God's rest. *Et conversus Deus, ut aspiceret opera, quæ fecerunt manus suæ, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis; and then the Sabbath.*

IN the discharge of a man's duty, let him set before him the best examples; there is a number of precepts for imitation; and after a time set before him his own example, and examine himself strictly whether he began better than he ended. Let him neglect not, on the other hand, the example of those that have carried themselves ill in the same place; not to set himself off by taxing their memory, but to direct himself what to avoid. Reform, therefore, but without ostentation, or defaming former times and persons; yet he should set it down as a rule to himself, to introduce good precedents, as well as to follow them. Reduce things to their first institution, and observe well wherein and how they have degenerated; but yet ask counsel of both times; of the antient, that you may know what is best, and of the latter

latter time that you may understand what is fittest. Endeavour to make your course regular, that men may know beforehand what they are to expect; nevertheless be not too positive and preremptory, and whenever you recede from your rule, explain yourself properly. Preserve steadily the rights of your place, but do not lightly provoke disputes touching jurisdiction; and carry it in such manner as to assume and exercise your rights in silence and *de facto*, rather than raise and debate questions about them with noise and clamour.

PRESERVE likewise the rights of inferior Places, subordinate to you, and think it a greater honour to direct in chief, than to be busy in all. Embrace, nay invite such as may help and inform you, touching the execution of your place, and do not drive away those that offer their service as if they were meddlers, but rather encourage and countenance them.

The vices in the exercise of authority are chiefly four: too much Delay; Corruption, Roughness; and Facility.

For Delays: give easy access, keep times appointed, go through that which is in hand, without taking up new business, but from necessity.

For Corruption: do not only bind your own hands, and those of your servants from taking bribes, but the hands of suitors also from offering them. Integrity used undoubtedly does the first of these; and integrity given out and professed, with a detestation of bribery, brings about the latter also. Avoid not only the fault, but the suspicion likewise. Whoever are found variable, and change manifestly, without a sufficient cause, give suspicion of corruption. Therefore always when you turn from the opinion you have declared, or from the course you have begun, profess the same ingenuously, and withal honestly acknowledge the causes that induced you to it, and don't think to be able to steal away. A favourite servant, who has interest with his master, if there be no apparent cause of favour, is commonly thought an instrument to corruption.

FOR

For Roughness: it breeds envy and ill-will without producing any advantage; for severity strikes fear, but roughness breeds hatred. Even reproofs from authority ought to be grave though not insulting.

As for Facility, that is even worse than bribery: for bribes are attempted but now and then; but if a man lies open to importunity, or is led by idle respects, he will never be without them. As *Solomon* saith, "To respect persons is not good; for such a man will transgress for a piece of bread." The saying of the antients is most certainly true, "A place shews the man." And some it shews for the better, others for the worse: *Omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset*, says *Tacitus* of *Galba*: on the other hand, the same author says of *Vespasian*, *Solus imperantium Vespasianus mutatus in melius*. Though the one is meant by *Tacitus*, of the art of governing, the other of manners and affections. It is a most evident sign of a generous disposition, where honour improves it: for honour is, or should be, the place of virtue: and as in nature, bodies move violently to, and calmly in their place,

54 OF MAGISTRACIES AND DIGNITIES.

so virtue in ambition is violent ; in authority obtained, settled and calm.

GRADUAL rising to the pinnacle of promotion is by a winding pair of stairs ; if factions prevail, it is good to adhere to one party, while a man is climbing to honour : and to reduce himself to a balance, when he has attained the fame.

PRESERVE the memory of your predecessor unhurt ; if you do not, it is a debt will be paid you by your successor. Treat your fellows in office friendly, and call them in rather when they do not expect it, than exclude them when with reason they should be called in. Do not be too mindful of your place, nor make frequent mention of it in common discourse, or in private conversation ; but rather let it be said of you, " When he sits in place he is quite another man."

OF BOLDNESS.

IT is a trivial grammar-school text, but yet worthy a wise man's observation: *Demosthenes* being asked once, "What was the principal qualification of an orator?" answered "Action." What next? "Action." What next again? "Action." He said, that knew it best, and yet was not much indebted to Nature for what he commended. A strange thing surely, that that part of an orator, which is but superficial, and to be esteemed rather the virtue of a player, should be placed so high above those nobler parts of Invention, Elocution, and the rest, as almost alone to be esteemed the essential quality. But the reason is plain, for there is in human nature generally more of the fool than of the wise; and therefore those faculties, by which the foolish part of mens minds is taken, are most potent of all. Wonderful, and as it were parallel, is the case of Boldness in civil business. What first? "Boldness." What second and third? "Boldness." And yet Boldness is a child of

Ignorance, and of a base nature, and far inferior to other parts of civil science. But nevertheless it fascinates and captivates those that are either weak in judgment, or fearful in nature; and such are the greatest part of mankind. Nay it prevails even with wise men themselves, when their minds are weak. Therefore we see it has had great sway in popular states, but with senates and princes evidently less. Further, when bold persons first enter upon action, they can do more than afterwards; for Boldness is a bad keeper of a promise.

As now and then mountebanks step in who pretend to cure the natural body, so also for the politic body there are not wanting men that will undertake even the most difficult cures; who perhaps have been lucky in some few experiments, but having no notion of the grounds of science, oftener fail. Nay you shall see a bold fellow sometimes do *Mahomet's* miracle. *Mahomet* made the people believe that he would call a hill to him; and from the top of it offered up his prayers for the observers of his law. The people assembled
in

in great numbers: *Mahomet* called the hill to him again and again; but when the hill stood still, he, nothing abashed, says, "If the hill will not come to *Mahomet*, *Mahomet* will go to the hill." So these men, when they have taken upon themselves mighty matters, and failed most shamefully in them, yet if they have the perfection of Boldness, they will make a jest of it, give themselves a turn, and there it finishes.

CERTAINLY, to men of great judgment, bold persons are a sport to behold; nay, and to the vulgar also, Boldness has somewhat of the ridiculous. For if absurdity be the subject of laughter, you need not doubt but great Boldness is seldom without some absurdity. Nor can there be a pleasanter sight, hardly, than to see a bold fellow out of countenance; since that puts his face into a most confused and humiliating posture: for in Bashfulness the spirits naturally fluctuate; but with bold men, upon a like occasion, they stand still; like a stale at Chess*, where it is

* Lat. *Ut fit in Sbaccæ ludo quando non vincitur colluser, sed torpet tantum motus,*

no mate, but yet the game cannot stir. Tho' this last is fitter for satire, than for serious observation.

It is observable, that Boldness is ever blind; for it sees no dangers nor obstacles: wherefore it is bad in counsel, but good in execution. So that if you would make use of bold persons with safety, you must not give them the command in chief; but let them be seconds, and under the direction of others. For in deliberations it is good to have dangers before our eyes; but in execution we should shut our eyes, unless the dangers are very great.

OF GOODNESS.

I TAKE Goodness, in this sense, that it is an affection which studies the good of men: the same that the *Greeks* call philanthropy. The word humanity, as it is generally used, is a little too light and narrow to express
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the force of it. Goodness I call the habit, and Goodness of Nature the inclination. This same Goodness, of all the virtues and dignities of the mind, is undoubtedly the chief, being a faint kind of resemblance and character of the Divine Nature itself; which being banished out of the world, the natural man would be nothing but an unquiet, wicked, wretched thing; nay, a kind of mischievous animal.

MORAL Goodness answers to the theological virtue, Charity; nor does it admit of excess, but is capable of error. An immoderate desire of power threw the angels out of Heaven: an immoderate desire of knowledge expelled man Paradise: but in charity there is no excess; nor can either angel or man come in danger by it.

AN inclination to Goodness is deeply rooted in the nature of man; which, being destitute of matter, or occasion to exercise itself upon men, will turn at least to brute creatures. As it is seen in the *Turks*, a cruel and brutal people, who nevertheless are merciful
to

to beasts, and distribute alms to dogs and birds. *Busbequius* relates a circumstance of a *Venetian* goldsmith, residing at *Constantinople*, who had much ado to escape the fury of the people for gagging a long-billed fowl. Yet this virtue of Goodness, or charity, has its errors. The *Italians* have an ungracious proverb; "So good, that he is good for no-thing." And *Nicholas Machiavel* had the confidence to set down in writing, and almost in plain terms, "That the Christian Faith had given up good and innocent men in prey to the iniquity of tyrants:" Which he pronounced, because there never was law, sect, or opinion, that so highly exalts Goodness as the Christian religion does.

THE better therefore to secure ourselves from the stroke of scandal, and danger too in this point, it will be worth our while to take notice of the errors that turn us out of the right way of such an excellent habit. Seek the good of others so as not to enslave yourself to their faces or pleasures; for that is an argument of facility and softness,

ness, which takes an honest mind captive. Neither cast a gem to *Æsop's* cock, who would be better pleased, and happier with a barley-corn. Let the example of God in this matter be your lesson: "He sendeth his rain, and maketh his sun to shine, upon the just and unjust alike:" but yet he does not rain wealth, nor shine honours or virtues upon all men equally. Common benefits indeed are to be communicated to all; but peculiar ones to few, and with choice. But beware, lest in engraving the portraiture, you destroy the original. For theology sets up the love of ourselves for the original, and the love of our neighbour for the copy. "Sell all thou hast, give it to the poor, and follow me." But sell not all thou hast, except thou come and follow me; that is, unless you enter upon such a vocation, wherein you can do as much good to others with a small substance as with a great one; otherwise in feeding the streams you dry up the fountain. Neither is there only found a habit of Goodness directed by the rule of right reason, but in some men also there is found a natural disposition and propensity to it; as on the other hand in some

some others a natural malignity. For there are those that in their natural temper have an aversion to the Good of others. And as to the lighter sort of malignity, that turns to moroseness, or perverseness, or an unbridled humour of opposition, and shewing itself difficult in all things : but the more grievous and deeper, approaches to envy and mere malice. Such men, in other mens calamities, are, as it were, in season, and are ever inclined to oppression; not good enough to be compared to the dogs that licked *Lazarus's* sores, but to flies, that are still buzzing upon any thing that is raw ; misanthropes, that take a pleasure in bringing men to the bough, and yet have never a tree for the purpose, as *Timon* had. Such dispositions may well be called the imposthumes and cancers of human nature. And yet they are the fittest timber to make political executioners of; being of the crooked kind, that is good for building ships to encounter a storm, but not for houses that are to stand firm.

THE parts and signs of Goodness are many. If a man be kind and courteous to strangers and foreigners, he proves himself
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a citizen of the world, and that his heart is not like an island, cut off from other lands, but like a continent that joins to them.

If he be compassionate to the afflicted, he shews a noble heart, and is like the celebrated tree, that is wounded itself when it gives the balm.

If he easily remits offences, and pardons faults, it shews his mind is planted on high above the shot of injuries. If he be thankful for small benefits, it is an argument that he values mens minds more than their trinkets. But above all, if he has attained the highest pitch of perfection, even that of St. *Paul* the apostle, of devoting and anathematizing himself from *Christ* for the salvation of his brethren, it shews the nearest approach to the divine nature, and a kind of conformity with *Christ* himself.

OF NOBILITY.

LET us speak of Nobility, first as it is a part of a state ; next, as it is a condition of particular persons. A monarchy where there is no nobility at all, is ever a pure and absolute tyranny, as that of the *Turks*. For Nobility tempers sovereignty, and draws the eyes of the people aside from the royal line. But in a democracy there is no need of nobles ; nay that popular state is much more quiet, and less subject to factions and seditions, where there is no order of nobility. For there mens eyes are upon the business, not upon the persons ; or if upon the persons, it is for the business sake, as being fittest for it, and not out of any regard to the pageantry of ancestors.

THE *Switzers*, we see, are a flourishing people, notwithstanding their diversity of religion, and of cantons. For utility is their bond, and not rank and title. The form of government used in the United
Provinces

Provinces of the *Low Countries* is surely excellent: for where there is an equality, both the consultations are more indifferent, and the payments and tributes more chearful.

A great and potent Nobility in a monarchy, adds majesty to the prince, but diminishes his power; and puts life and spirit into the people, but depresses their fortune. It is well when the nobles are not too great for sovereignty or justice; and yet maintained in that height, that the insolence of the multitude may be blunted by their reverence of them, as by a bar in the way, before it pours itself forth upon the majesty of kings. On the other hand, a numerous Nobility causes poverty and inconvenience in a state; for it occasions a vast expence: and besides, it is a thing of such necessity, that should many of the Nobility in course of time fall to poverty, there follows a kind of divorce or disproportion between honour and estate.

As for Nobility in particular persons, if it is a venerable thing to see an antient

castle or building not the least in decay; or an aged tall timber tree sound and perfect; how much more to behold an antient noble family uninjured by the waves and storms of time? For new Nobility is the act of royal power; but antient Nobility is the pure act of time.

THOSE that are first raised to a high pitch of Nobility, generally excel their descendants in the brightness of their virtues, but by no means in innocence: for there is rarely any promotion to honour but by a mixture of good and evil arts. It is right therefore, that the memory of their virtues should pass down to their posterity, and that their vices should die with themselves.

NOBILITY of birth commonly abates industry; and he that is not industrious, envies another's diligence. Besides, noble persons cannot be advanced much further; and he that stands still while others rise, can hardly avoid emotions of envy. On the other side, Nobility very much allays the envy of others towards them; for this reason, because

cause noblemen seem born in the possession of honours.

CERTAINLY kings that have a wise and able Nobility about them, will find an easier progress in their business by employing them principally: for the people naturally bend to them, as born in some degree to govern.

OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES.

IT greatly concerns the shepherds of the people to know the prognostics of state tempests; which are greatest, when things grow to equality; as natural tempests are greatest about the equinox. And as there are hollow blasts of wind, and secret swellings of seas before a tempest, so are there in states:

— *Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus*

Sæpe monet, fraudesque & operta tumescere bella.

GEORG. I. 464. &c;

“The change of empires often he declares,

“Fierce tumults, hidden treasons, murders, wars.”

DRYDEN:

LIBELS, and licentious and satyrical discourses against the state, when they fly about every where, and are frequent ; and in like manner false news running up and down to the disadvantage of the state, and greedily embraced by the people, are certainly among the signs of Seditions. *Virgil* giving the pedigree of *Fame*, makes her sister to the giants :

*Illam Terra parens, ira irritata Deorum,
Extremam (ut perhibent) Cæo Enceladoque sororem:
Progenuit.*

“ Enrag’d against the Gods, revengeful *Earth*
“ Produc’d her last of the *Titanian* birth.”

DRYDEN:

As if *Fame* was the offspring of Seditions past ; but she is no less indeed the prelude of Seditions to come. However, it is rightly observed, that seditious tumults and seditious fame differ in effect no more than as brother and sister, masculine and feminine ; especially if the evil come to that height, that the most laudable actions of a state, and the most plausible, which ought to give greatest content, are taken in an ill-sense, and traduced ; for that shews the load of
envy

envy to be great: as *Tacitus* well says, “ In
 “ a prince once in obloquy, do he well, do
 “ he ill, all is ill taken.” Hist. I. ch. 7.
 Neither does it follow, that, because those
 fumes are a sign of Troubles, therefore the
 suppressing of them with too much severity
 should be a remedy: for generally they
 vanish soonest by being despised; and the
 going about earnestly to check them, does
 but make them longer lived.

Also that kind of obedience in executing
 commands, which *Tacitus* speaks of, is to be
 held suspected: *Erant in officio, sed tamen qui*
mallent mandata imperantium interpretari, quam
exequi. Discussing, shifting off, cavilling
 upon commands and directions, what else
 are they but an endeavour to shake off the
 yoke, and an essay of disobedience? Espe-
 cially if in those disputings they that are for
 the command, speak fearfully and tenderly;
 and those that are against them, audaciously.

Machiavel says, “ When princes, that
 “ ought to carry themselves as common pa-
 “ rents, make themselves a party, and lean
 “ to a side, it is as when a boat is overfet by

“uneven weight ;” as was seen in the time of *Henry* the Third of *France*. For he at first entered into the league for the extirpation of the Protestants ; which presently after, was turned upon the King himself. When the authority of princes is made but an accessory to a cause, and that there arise stronger bands than the band of sovereignty, kings begin then to be put almost out of possession.

ALso, when discords, quarrels, and factions are carried openly and audaciously, it is a sign the reverence of Government is lost. For the motions of the great ones in a Government, ought to be as the motions of the planets under the *primum mobile*, according to the old opinion ; which is, that each of them is carried swiftly by the highest motion, and softly in their own motion ; and therefore, if great men and nobles, in their own particular motion, move violently ; and, as *Tacitus* expresseth it well, *Liberius, quam ut imperantium meminissent*, it is a sign the orbs are out of frame ; for reverence is that wherewith princes are invested from God, who some-
times

times threatens the dissolving thereof;
Solvam cingula regum.

AGAIN, when any of the four pillars of Government are shaken or weakened, which are Religion, Justice, Counsel, and Treasure, then men had need to pray for fair weather. But let us pass over those prognostics of seditions (concerning which, nevertheless, more light may be taken from that which follows); and let us say something first of the Matter of Seditions; then of the Motives of them; and lastly of their Remedies.

As to the Matter of Seditions, it is a thing well worth the considering. The surest way to prevent them, if the times will bear it, is to take away the matter: for if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the sparks may come, that shall set it on fire. The Matter of Seditions is of two kinds, much poverty and much discontent. This is most certain, so many impaired estates and broken fortunes, so many votes for disturbances. Whence that observation of *Lucan*, concerning the

state of the *Roman* empire, a little before the civil war :

*Hinc usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore fœnus,
Hinc concussa fides, & multis utile bellum.*

THIS inference, *multis utile bellum*, is, a sure sign of a state disposed to commotions and troubles. Should this indigence, from a ruined estate in the better sort, be joined with extreme want and poverty in the ordinary people, the danger is imminent and great; rebellions that arise from the belly are always the worst. As for Disaffection and Discontent at the present state of affairs, these surely are in the politic body like unto ill humours in the natural, which are apt to gather a preternatural heat, and to inflame. But let no Prince measure his danger by this, whether the motives that alienate the affections of the People be just, or unjust; for that were to imagine the vulgar to be too rational, who often spurn at their own good. Nor yet by this, whether the grievances from whence the odium springs, be great or small: for they are the most dangerous discontents, where the fear is greater than the feeling. *Dolendi modus, timendi*

timendi non item: "Grief has bounds, but
"fear has none." Besides, in great op-
pressions, the same things that provoke the
patience, also break the courage; but in
fears, the case is otherwise. Neither, again,
let a prince or state slight a Disaffection, and
growing Odium, because those disgusts and
ferments have been either frequent, or long,
and yet the state hath received no detriment
thereby. For as it is true, that every va-
pour does not end in a storm, so it may tru-
ly be said, on the other side, that storms,
though they frequently blow over, yet at
length gather, and fall: And according to
the Spanish proverb, "The cord breaks at
"last by the weakest pull."

THE causes of Seditions are these: in-
novation in matters of religion; tributes
and taxes; alteration of laws and customs;
violation of immunities and privileges; ge-
neral oppression; advancement of unwor-
thy persons to honour and dignities; fo-
reigners; dearths, soldiers incautiously dis-
banded; factions grown desperate; and
whatsoever, in fine, offends the people,
unites

unites, and makes them conspire together in a common cause.

For the Remedies, there may be some general preservatives assigned, which we shall point out; but for the just cure, it must answer to the particular disease, and so be left to counsel, rather than rule.

THE first Remedy and prevention of Sedition is this: To remove, by all possible means and diligence, that material cause of Sedition, which we have already observed; I mean, poverty and want in the state. To which purpose serves the opening and well-balancing of trade; the introducing and cherishing of artificans and manufactures; the banishing of sloth and idleness; the repressing of luxury and waste by sumptuary laws; the husbanding and improvement of the soil; the regulating the prices of goods; the moderating of taxes and tributes; and the like. In general, provision should be made, that the number of people (in times of peace I mean, when the sword mows down none) do not exceed the stock of the kingdom, which should maintain

maintain them. Neither is the population to be reckoned only by number; for a smaller number that spend much, and earn little, wear out a state sooner than a much greater number that live lower, and save money. Therefore the multiplying of nobility, and other persons of eminent degree, in an overproportion to the common people, speedily brings a state to necessity; so does likewise a numerous clergy; for they bring nothing to the stock. It has the same effect also, when more are bred scholars than civil preferments can employ.

It is likewise to be remembered, that all increase of a state in wealth must necessarily come from foreign nations; for whatever is acquired by one citizen, is lost to another. There are but three things which one nation sells to another; the natural Commodity, the Manufacture, and the Freight or Carriage; so that, if these three wheels go right, wealth will flow as in a spring-tide, and that of the poet many times come to pass, *Materiam superabat opus*; that is, the manufacture and carriage is worth more than the matter, and enriches a
state

state more ; as it is notably seen in the people of the *Low-Countries*, who have the richest mines above ground of any nation in the world.

BUT above all things, good policy is to be used, that the treasure and money in a state is not gathered into few hands ; for otherwise a state may easily starve in the midst of a great stock. And money, like manure, does not enrich, except it be spread. This will be effected chiefly by suppressing, or at least laying restrictions upon those devouring trades of usury, engrossing, turning great estates into pasturage, and the like.

FOR the calming discontent, or at least for removing the danger : There are in every state (as it is well known) two kinds of subjects ; the nobles and the commons. If but one of these parties be incensed, there is no great danger lurking ; for the common people are of slow motion, if they are not spurred on by those of higher rank : and the nobles are of small strength, unless the multitude are of themselves

selves apt and predisposed to move: then is the danger, when the superior orders do but wait for the troubling of the waters among the meaner, that they may at last declare themselves. The poets feign, that the gods were in a conspiracy to bind *Jupiter*; which he hearing of, by the counsel of *Pallas*, sent for *Briareus* with his hundred hands to come in to his aid. An allegory, no doubt, to warn monarchs, how safe and wholesome it is for them to gain and secure the good-will of the people.

To give moderate liberty for grief and discontent to evaporate, (so it be without insolence and audaciousness) is a very safe way; for he that turns the humours back, and makes the wound bleed inwards, endangers malign ulcers, and pernicious imposthumes.

IN order to soften imbittered and malevolent spirits, the part of *Epimetheus* might fitly be transferred to *Prometheus*. For there cannot be a better remedy. *Epimetheus*, when he found evils and calamities flying abroad, made haste and put the lid upon the vessel, and kept hope in the bottom of it.

Certainly,

Certainly, the politic and artificial nourishing and inspiring of hopes, and the carrying men from one hope to another, is one of the strongest antidotes against the poison of malevolence.

AND it is a certain sign of a wise government and prudent administration, that can hold mens hearts by hopes, when it cannot satisfy them ; and where things are managed in such a manner, that no evil shall appear so imminent, but that it has some outlet of hope ; which is the less difficult to do, because it is natural both for particular persons and factions to flatter themselves, or at least to boast of what they do not believe.

THERE is a common, indeed, but an excellent point of caution against the dangers that Discontents threaten, *viz.* the foresight and prevention, that there be no likely or fit head, to whom an angry and imbittered people may resort, and under whose protection they may join in a body. I understand a fit head or leader to be one who is eminent for nobility and reputation ; acceptable and gracious with the discontented party, unto whom

whom they turn their eyes; and who is thought also discontented in himself; which kind of persons are either to be won and reconciled to the state, and that not slightly, but in a fast and true manner; or to be counteracted by some other of the same party that may oppose them, and so divide and cut asunder the popular interest.

It is a general observation, that the dividing and breaking of factions and combinations that set themselves against the government, and the making them fall out with one another, or at least sowing distrust among them, is none of the worst remedies. For a state is in a desperate case, if those who are well-affected to the government are jarring and discordant, and those that are against it, entire and united.

I have often noted, that witty and sharp sayings, which have fallen from princes unawares, have given fire to Seditions. *Cæsar* gave himself a fatal wound by that saying: *Sylla nescivit literas, non potuit dictare*. For this single speech cut off all the hope that men entertained of his giving up the dictatorship
at

at one time or other. *Galba* undid himself by that speech, *Legi a se militem, non emi*: for it put the soldiers out of hope of the donatives. *Probus*, likewise, by that of; *Si vixero, non opus erit amplius Romano Imperio militibus*; for this was a speech of despondency: but surely it is the interest of princes, in tender matters and critical times, to beware what they say; especially in these concise sentences, which fly abroad like darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret intentions; for long discourses are flat and not so much noted.

LASTLY, Let princes, against all events, have about them some persons of approved military valour, for the repressing of Seditions in their first motions; for without this there would be too much trepidation in the courts of princes, upon the first breaking out of Troubles; and the state in that kind of danger that *Tacitus* hints in these words: *Isque habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur*:
 “ And such was the disposition of their
 “ minds, that into so horrible a treason few
 “ only durst enter, many wished it, and all
 “ were

“ were content to suffer it.” *Tac. Hist.*
B. i. Ch. 28. But such military persons
should be singularly faithful, and well re-
puted, rather than factious or popular;
holding also good correspondence with the
other great men in the state; or else the re-
medy is worse than the disease.

OF ATHEISM.

IT is less difficult to believe the most fa-
bulous stories of the *Alcoran*, the *Talmud*,
or the *Legend*, than that this universal frame
of nature is without an intelligent Being;
and therefore God never wrought a miracle
to convince Atheism, because his ordinary
works are sufficient for that purpose. Ne-
vertheless it is true, that a little natural phi-
losophy inclines men to Atheism; but depth
in philosophy brings them about to religion;
for the mind of man, while it looks upon
second causes separately, sometimes rests in
them, and goes no further; but when it

proceeds to contemplate the chain of them linked, and confederated together, it must needs fly to Providence and a Deity. Nay, even that school, which is most accused of Atheism, if a man considers right, does clearly demonstrate religion; that is, the school of *Leucippus*, *Democritus*, and *Epicurus*. For it is far more probable, that four mutable elements, and one fifth immutable essence, duly and eternally placed, should need no God, than that an army of infinite atoms and seeds, casually roaming without order, should have produced this orderly and beautiful frame of things without a Divine Marshal.

THE Scripture saith: "The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God:" It does not say, "The fool hath thought in his heart:" So that he rather asserts this within himself, as a thing he would gladly have, than as what he thoroughly believes and thinks. For nobody believes there is no God, but he for whom it is expedient that there were no God.

CERTAINLY,

CERTAINLY it appears in nothing more, that Atheism fits upon the lips rather than upon the heart, than by this, that Atheists are often talking of, and defending their opinion; as if they disbelieved themselves, and would be glad to be upheld and strengthened by the consent of others. Further, you shall sometimes see Atheists endeavouring to get themselves disciples, as other sects do. Nay, what is very strange, some of them have undergone death and torture, rather than recant; whereas, if they thought from their heart that there was no such thing as God, why are they so anxious in procuring advocates to support their cause?

EPICURUS is charged with having dissembled, for his credit's sake, when he affirmed, that there were certain blessed natures indeed, but such as enjoyed themselves, without having any concern in the government of the world. In which opinion they say he temporized, when in truth he thought there was no God. But it seems he is traduced, for his words are noble and divine: "To deny the gods of the vulgar is not

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" profane ;

“ profane ; *but* to apply the opinions of the
“ vulgar to the gods is profane.” *Plato*
himself could have said no more. Whence
it appears, that, although he had confidence enough to deny the divine administration, yet he had not the assurance to deny their nature. The *Indians* of the *West* have names for their particular Gods, though they have no general name that signifies God : as if the heathens, for example, should have had in use the names of *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, *Mars*, &c. but no word to express God. Which shews sufficiently, that the most barbarous people have a notion of a Divine Being, though they have not the latitude and extent of his power. So that against Atheists the greatest savages take part with the very subtlest of the philosophers. The contemplative Atheist is rare ; a *Diagoras*, a *Bion*, a *Lucian* perhaps, and a few more ; and yet they seem to be more than they are ; because all that deny a received religion, or superstition, are by the adverse party branded with the name of Atheists. But the great Atheists indeed are hypocrites, who are ever handling holy things, but without feeling them ; till at
last

last they become callous, even to the sentiment of a Deity.

THE causes of Atheism are, divisions in religion, if they are many; for one division only increases the zeal of both sides; but many divisions introduce Atheism. Another cause is, the scandal of priests, when it comes to that which St. *Barnard* hints at; *Non est jam dicere, ut populus, sic sacerdos; quia nec sic populus, ut sacerdos.* A third is, a profane custom of turning religion into ridicule, which, by little and little, wears away the reverence of its doctrine. And lastly, learned times, joined with peace and prosperity: for calamities and adversity strongly incline mens minds to religion.

THEY that deny a God, destroy man's nobility; for it is most certain, that man is allied to the beasts by his body; and if he be not related to God by his spirit, he is a very base and ignoble creature. They destroy likewise the magnanimity and exaltation of human nature; for, take example by a dog, and mark what a spirit that creature assumes, and what a generosity he puts

on, when he finds himself maintained by a man, who to him is instead of a God, or better nature; which courage is manifestly such, as that creature, without the assurance of a better nature than his own, could never attain: so likewise man, when he rests upon, and places his hope, in the divine protection and favour, gathers an assurance and strength beyond what human nature, left to itself, could have obtained. Wherefore as Atheism is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it deprives human nature of the means to exalt itself above human frailty. As it is in particular persons, so is it likewise in nations. Never was there such a state for magnanimity as *Rome*: —Hear, therefore, what *Cicero* says: *Quam volumus, licet, Patres Conscripti, nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, &c.* “ We may think as well of
 “ ourselves, Conscript Fathers, as we please;
 “ nevertheless, we have neither exceeded
 “ the *Spaniards* in number, the *Gauls* in
 “ stoutness, the *Carthaginians* in craft, the
 “ *Grecians* in arts, nor finally, the *Italians*
 “ and *Latins* themselves in the natural sense
 “ peculiar to this people and country; but
 “ in

“ in piety and religion, and in this single
 “ wisdom of discerning clearly, that all
 “ things are directed and governed by the
 “ over-ruling providence of the immortal
 “ Gods ; herein we have outgone all coun-
 “ tries and nations of the world.”

OF SUPERSTITION.

IT were better to have no belief of a God
 at all, than such a belief as is unworthy
 of him ; for the one is infidelity, the other
 impiety and contumely. And certainly Su-
 perstition is the reproach of the Deity.
Plutarch says well to that purpose : “ Sure-
 “ ly, I had much rather men should say,
 “ there never was any such man at all as
 “ *Plutarch*, than that they should say,
 “ there was one *Plutarch*, that used to eat
 “ and devour his children as soon as they
 “ were born ; as the poets tell of *Saturn*.”
 And as the contumely of Superstition is
 greater with regard to God, so also is the
 danger of it greater with regard to men.

For Atheism does not wholly eradicate the dictates of sense, philosophy, natural affection, the laws, nor a desire of reputation; all which, though there was no religion, may conduce to an outward moral virtue; but Superstition dismounts all those, and exercises an absolute tyranny over the minds of men. Therefore, Atheism never raises disturbances in states; for it makes men wary, and consult their own security, as looking no farther. We consequently see the very times inclined to Atheism, as those of *Augustus Cæsar*, were peaceable times. But Superstition has been the ruin of many kingdoms and states; for it brings in a new *primum mobile* that carries away with it all the spheres of government. The master of Superstition is the people; in all Superstition wise men follow fools; and arguments submit to practice in a reversed order. It was gravely said by some of the prelates in the council of *Trent*, where the doctrine of the schoolmen bore great sway; “ That the school-
“ men were like astronomers, who have
“ feigned eccentric circles, and epicycles,
“ and such engines of orbs, to solve pheno-
“ mena; though they knew well enough
“ there

“there were in reality no such things.” And in like manner, that they had invented a number of subtle and intricate Axioms and Theorems to defend the practice of the church.

THE causes of Superstition are, pleasing and sensual rites and ceremonies; excess of outward and pharisaical holiness; too great reverence for traditions, which cannot but load the church; the stratagems of prelates for their own ambition and lucre; the favouring too much of good intentions, which opens the gate to conceits and novelties; the forming an idea of divine by human matters, which must breed a mixture of incoherent imaginations; and lastly, barbarous times, joined with calamities and disasters.

SUPERSTITION, without a veil, is odious in the extreme; for as it adds deformity to an ape to be so much like a man, the similitude of Superstition to Religion, makes it the more deformed. And as wholesome meats are corrupted to little worms, so are good and sound rites and forms into a number of petty and superfluous observances.

THERE

THERE is a Superstition sometimes in avoiding Superstition ; when men think the way they take so much the purer, the more they deviate from the Superstitions before received. Therefore care should be taken in reforming religion, as in purging the body, that the good be not taken away with the bad ; which is commonly done, when the people are the reformers.

OF TRAVELLING.

TRAVELLING in youth, is a part of education ; in age a part of experience. He that goes into foreign parts before he has made some entrance into the language of the country he goes to, goes to school, not to travel. That young men travel under a tutor, or some experienced servant, I well approve, provided he understands the language, and has been in the country before ; that he may be able to tell them, what things are worthy to be seen and known
where



where they travel; what friendships and acquaintances are to be contracted; and what studies and disciplines are in respect there: for otherwise young men will travel hood-winked, and look abroad to little purpose.

THE things to be seen and observed are these; the courts of princes, especially when they give audience to foreign ambassadors; the courts of justice, when causes are pleading; and so of consistories ecclesiastic; churches and monasteries, with the monuments which are extant; the walls and fortifications of cities and towns; the havens and harbours; antiquities and ruins; libraries, colleges; disputations and lectures; navies and shipping; palaces, and gardens of state and pleasure near great cities; armories; arsenals; magazines; exchanges; warehouses; exercises of horsemanship and fencing; mustering and training of soldiers; comedies, such I mean to which the better sort of people resort; treasuries of jewels and robes; curiosities and rarities; and to conclude, whatsoever is famous or memorable in the places through which they pass: after these, the tutors or servants ought

ought to make diligent enquiry. As for triumphs, masques, feasts, weddings, funerals, capital executions, and public spectacles, men need not be put in mind of them; yet 'tis certain those things are not wholly to be neglected.

IF you have a mind that a young man should epitomize his Travels, and in a short time gather much, I would advise you to observe the following plan: First, he must have some entrance into the language, before he goes. Then he must have with him some servant or tutor that knows the country well, as was before observed. Let him have by him also some book or map of the country where he travels; which will be a key to his enquiries. Let him make a diary also. Let him not stay long in one city or town: more or less, as the place deserves, but by no means long. Nay, whilst he stays in any city or town, let him change his lodging often from one part of the town to another; for this doubtless is a kind of load-stone to attract the acquaintance and conversation of abundance of persons. Let him sequester himself, for the most part, from

from the company of his countrymen, and diet in such places as the better sort of company of the nation where he travels, eat together.

LIKEWISE upon his removal from one place to another, let him procure letters of recommendation to some person of quality residing in the place whither he removes; that he may use his favour and service in those things he desires to see or know. By this means he may quicken the advantage of travel.

As for the acquaintance and friendships to be made in travel, the most profitable of all is that made by the secretaries and intimate servants of ambassadors: for thus, by travelling in one country, he will extract and imbibe the knowledge and experience of many.

LET him also visit persons eminent, in all kinds, that are of great character abroad; that he may be able to mark, how their face, aspect, lineaments, and motions of their body, agree with the report.

As

As for quarrels and private animosities, with care and diligence avoid them. They arise most commonly upon the account of mistresses, healths, place, and disputes: and let a man beware especially, how he keeps company with cholerick and quarrelsome persons, for they will engage him in their own quarrels.

WHEN a traveller returns home, let him not leave the countries, where he has travelled, altogether behind him; but let him preserve and cultivate the friendship of those, with whom he has contracted an acquaintance (those I mean that are of most worth) by epistolary correspondence: let his travel appear rather in his discourse, than in his apparel or gesture; and in his discourse, let him rather consider what to answer advisedly, than be forward to tell stories. Let this also be apparent in him, that he has not changed his country manners for those of foreign parts: but rather, that he has interspersed the customs of his own country with some flowers, as it were, of what he has learned abroad.

OF EMPIRE.

IT is a miserable state of mind, to have few things to desire, and many to fear: and yet this commonly is the very case of kings, who being at the summit, want scope of aspiring; which make their minds more languishing: and, on the other hand, have many phantoms of perils and imaginary fears, which make their minds less serene. And this is one reason also of that effect, which the Scripture attributes to kings, "That the king's heart is inscrutable." For a multitude of jealousies, and the want of some predominant desire to command and marshal the rest, makes any man's heart hard to find, or sound. Hence it comes to pass, that kings frequently make themselves desires, and set their hearts upon trifles: sometimes upon erecting buildings; sometimes upon instituting an order or college; sometimes upon the advancement of a person; sometimes upon exercising some mechanical art, or feat of the hand; as *Nero* studied playing

playing upon the harp; *Domitian*, shooting; *Commodus*, fencing; *Caracalla*, chariot-driving. This may seem incredible to such as are unacquainted with the axiom, “That
“ the mind of man is more cheared and re-
“ freshed by advancing in small things, than
“ by standing still in great ones.” We see also that kings, who, in the beginning of their empire, have been exceeding fortunate in victories, and subduing provinces (it being scarce possible for them to make perpetual advances, but that they must some time or other meet with cross, retrograde fortune) have, in the end, turned superstitious and melancholy: as did *Alexander* the Great; *Dioclesian*; and, in our memory, *Charles* the Fifth; and others. For he that has been always used to go forward, and meets at last with a stop, falls out of favour with himself, and is no longer what he was.

I proceed now to treat of the true temperature of Empire; which is a thing rare and hard to keep. For both temper and distemper consist of contraries. But it is one thing to mingle contraries, another to interchange them. The answer of *Apollonius*

is

is full of excellent wisdom : *Vespasian* asked him, " What was *Nero's* overthrow ?" He answered, " *Nero* knew how to touch and " tune the harp well ; but in government he " sometimes strained the strings too much ; " and sometimes relaxed them too much." most certain it is, that nothing destroys authority so much, as an unequal, subsultory, and unseasonable interchange of power, sometimes wound up too high, sometimes let down too low.

NEVERTHELESS this also is true, that the wisdom of the modern times, as to the management of princes affairs, consists chiefly in casting about for, and the fitting of remedies and escapes of mischiefs and dangers when they are near ; rather than the beating off, and keeping of them aloof by a solid and grounded course of wisdom, before they impend. But this is only to contend with fortune. Let men beware how they neglect the materials that give birth to commotions : for no man can forbid the spark that kindles the fire, nor tell from what quarter it may break forth. The difficulties and impediments in the affairs of

princes are no doubt many and great; but frequently the greatest impediments are the passions and manners of the princes themselves. For the resolutions of sovereigns (as *Tacitus* well observes) are generally violent and contrary. *Sunt plerumque regum voluntates vehementes, & inter se contrariæ.* And it is the inconsistency of great power, to think of commanding the end, and yet not endure the means.

KINGS have to deal with their neighbours, their wives, their children, their prelates and clergy, their nobles, their second nobles, or gentlemen, their merchants, their commons, and the military power; and from all these arise danger, if care and circumspection be not used.

As for their Neighbours, there can be no general rule given (the occasions are so variable) save one, which ever holds good. It is this, princes should be perpetually upon the watch, that none of their neighbours grow too powerful, whether by encrease of territory, encouragement of trade, or by approaching too near, as to become more able

to annoy them, than they were before. This is generally the work of standing councils to foresee and hinder. Certainly, during the triumvirate of kings, (*Henry the VIIIth of England, Francis the Ist of France, and Charles the IVth of Spain*) there was such vigilance among them, that none of the three could gain an inch of territory, but the other two would immediately counterbalance it, either by confederation, or if necessary, by war; and would not take up peace at interest. The like was done by that league (which *Guicciardine* said was the security of *Italy*) made between *Ferdinando* king of *Naples*; *Lorenzious de Medicis*; and *Ludovicus Sforza*, potentates, the one of *Florence*, the other of *Milan*. Neither is the opinion of some of the schoolmen to be received; “That a war cannot justly be undertaken, “but upon a precedent injury, or provocation:” for there is no question, but a just fear of imminent danger, though there be no blow given, is a competent and lawful cause of war.

For their Wives; there are cruel and barbarous examples upon record. *Livia* is in-

famous for poisoning of her husband; *Roxalana*, *Solyman*'s wife was the destruction of the renowned prince *Mustapha*; and otherwise troubled the succession, and house of her husband. *Edward* the Second of *England*'s queen, had the principal hand in the deposing and murder of her husband. This kind of danger is then chiefly to be feared, when the queens have plots for raising their children by a former husband, or when they live in adultery.

With respect to their Children; the tragedies occasioned by them, have been many: and generally, suspicions taken up by fathers against their children have been unfortunate. The murder of *Mustapha* was so fatal to *Solyman*'s line, that the succession of the *Turks* from *Solyman*, until this day, is held suspected, as untrue, and of strange blood; because *Solyman* the second was thought to be supposititious. The destruction also of *Crispus*, a young gentleman of rare talents, by *Constantinus* the great his father, was in like manner fatal to his house; for both *Constantinus* and *Constance*, his sons, died violent deaths; and

and *Constantius*, his surviving son, died indeed of sickness, but not till *Julian* had taken up arms against him. The destruction likewise of *Demetrius*, son to *Philip* the second of *Macedon*, turned upon the father, who died of grief and repentance. And many like examples there are; but few, or none, where the fathers have reaped any good by such distrusts; except where the sons were in open arms against the fathers; as *Selymus* the first was against his father *Bajazet*; and the three sons of *Henry* the second, king of *England*.

THERE is danger from their Prelates also, when they are great and proud. As in the times of *Anselmus*, and *Thomas Becket*, Archbishops of *Canterbury*; who with their crofiers did almost contend for the sovereignty with the king's sword; and yet they had to deal with stout and haughty kings, *William Rufus*, *Henry* the first, and *Henry* the second. But danger of this kind from the prelates is not much to be feared, unless where the clergy depend upon the authority of a foreign jurisdiction; or where the

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clergy

clergy are elected by the people, and not by the king, or particular patrons.

In regard to their Nobles ; to restrain and keep them at a just distance from the royal throne is not impolitic ; but to depress them, may make a king perhaps more absolute, though in the mean time less safe, and less able to perform any thing that he desires. This I have noted in my history of king *Henry* the seventh *, who always depressed his nobility : whence it came to pass, that his times were full of difficulties and troubles. For the nobility, though they continued loyal unto him, yet they did not co-operate with him in his business ; so that in effect he was obliged to do all things himself.

THERE is not much danger from second nobles, being a dispersed body. They may sometimes talk big, but do little hurt ; besides, they are a counterpoise to the higher nobility, that they grow not too potent : and lastly, having immediate authority over the

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common people, they best temper popular commotions.

MERCHANTS ; like the *vena porta* of the body, convey vigour and spirit to the state ; if they flourish not, though a kingdom may have good limbs, it will soon decay for want of nourishment. Taxes, and excessive imposts, seldom encrease the king's revenue ; for what he gains in part, he loses in the aggregate ; the particular rates being encreased, but the total bulk of trading is diminished.

THERE is seldom danger from the Commons ; except it be, where they have great and potent heads ; where you introduce a change in point of religion ; in their antient customs ; in imposing heavy taxes ; or other things, that curtail their livelihood.

LASTLY, for the Military ; it is very dangerous where they are united into one body, whether as an army or garrison : of whom we see manifest examples in the *Janizaries*, and *Pretorian* bands of *Rome*. But raising of men, and training them to arms, in several places, and under several commanders,

without donatives, are subjects of defence, and not danger.

PRINCES are like heavenly bodies, which cause good or evil times by their influence; and which have much majesty, but no repose. All precepts concerning kings are comprehended in those two memorials: "Remember that thou art a man;" and, "Remember that thou art a God; or, God's vicegerent:" The one of which tends to the bridling of their power; the other, to the ruling of their will.

OF COUNSEL.

THE greatest trust between man and man is that of giving Counsel. For in every other sort of confidence, we commit to others only the parts of life; as lands, goods, children, reputation, and other particular affairs; but to such as we make our Counsellors, we commit the whole. The more
then

then are those obliged to act with integrity and sincerity, that sustain the part of Counsellors.

EVEN the wisest princes need not think it any diminution of their authority, to use the counsel of choice persons. Nay, God himself is not without Counsel; but makes it one of the great names of his blessed Son, to be called "the Counsellor." *Solomon* hath pronounced, that "in Counsel is stability." Human affairs, doubtless, will have either their first, or second agitation: If they are not discussed by the arguments of Counsel, they will at least be vague and fluctuating from the impulse of fortune, and like the reeling of a drunken man, without progression.

CERTAINLY *Solomon's* son found the force of Counsel, as his father saw the necessity and use of it. For the beloved kingdom of God was first rent and broken by ill Counsel; upon which there are set, for our instruction, the two marks whereby the bad may for ever be discerned; The one, that it was young, with respect to the persons;

persons ; and the other, that it was violent, as to the matter.

THE wisdom of the ancients has represented in a parable, as well the union and inseparable conjunction of Counsel with kings, as the wise and politic use thereof to be made by them : The one, by telling us, that *Jupiter* married *Metis* (which word signifies Counsel), whereby they hint, that Counsel is instead of a spouse to sovereignty : the other, which is in the sequel of the fiction : they say, that, after *Metis* was married to *Jupiter*, she was with child by him ; but that *Jupiter* waited not till she brought forth, but eat her up ; whereby he became himself with child, and was delivered of *Pallas* armed, out of his head. Which monstrous fable has a secret of Empire couched under it, viz. in what manner Kings ought to carry themselves towards their cabinet Council : first, to propose matters to their consideration ; which is the first conception : next, when they have been well-laboured, moulded, and shaped in the womb, and are grown ripe, and ready to be brought forth, that then they suffer them not to finish

nish the resolution, as if it depended upon their authority, but take the matter back into their own hands, and make it appear to the world, that the final decrees and resolves, like *Pallas* armed, proceed from themselves, and issue not only from their authority, but in order to raise their reputation, from their own head and ingenuity.

LET us speak now of the inconveniences of Counsel, and its remedies. The Inconveniences that appear in calling and using Counsel, are three: First, that it reveals affairs, and renders them less secret. Secondly, that it seems to derogate from the authority of Princes, as if they were less independent. Thirdly, that there is danger of unfaithful counsel, such as tends more to the good of him that counsels, than of the Prince himself. To remedy which inconveniences, the doctrine of *Italy*, and practices of *France*, in certain Kings times, have introduced Privy Councils, commonly called Cabinet Councils; a remedy worse than the disease.

As

As to secrecy: Princes are not obliged to communicate all matters with all Counsellors; but may extract and select, as well persons as affairs. Neither is it necessary for a Prince who consults what he should do, to declare at the same time what he will do. But let Princes beware that the disclosing of their secrets come not from themselves. And as for Cabinet-Councils, it may be their Motto, *Plenus rimarum sum*; "I am very leaky." One weak person that makes it his glory to tell, will do more hurt than many, that know it their duty to conceal. It is true, there happen some affairs of such a nature, as to require the utmost secrecy; such as should hardly go beyond the knowledge of one or two persons, besides the King himself: and those Councils are usually prosperous; for besides the secrecy, they generally go on steadily, and in one spirit of direction, without contention. But then this only succeeds well, when the King is a wise man; and those secret Counsellors had need also be sagacious men, and, above all things, true and trusty to the King's ends; as it was with King *Henry* the Seventh of *England*, who imparted his secrets

crets of importance only to two, *Morton* and *Fox*.

As for weakening of authority, the fable shews the remedy. Nay, the majesty of Kings is rather exalted, than diminished, when they sit in the chair of Counsel. Neither was there ever Prince that lost authority by his Council, except where there has happened an over-greatness in one of them; or an over-strict combination in many: which two mischiefs are soon found, and remedied.

For the last inconvenience, *viz.* "That
" men will counsel with an eye to them-
" selves;" doubtless that Scripture, "He
" shall not find faith upon earth," is to be
understood of the nature of the times, and not
of all particular persons. There are men to
be found that are in nature faithful, sincere,
plain, and direct; not crafty and intricate.
Let Princes, above all things, draw to them-
selves such subjects. Besides, Counsellors
are seldom so united, but that one
keeps centinel over another; so that if
any one gives Counsel out of faction or pri-
vate

vate ends, it presently comes to the King's ear. But the best remedy is, for Princes to endeavour to know their Counsellors thoroughly, as well as their Counsellors to know them:

Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos.

But, on the other side, it becomes not Counsellors to be prying into their sovereign's person: for the true composition of a Counsellor is, rather to be skilful in their master's business, than in his temper: then he is like to advise directly and honestly, and not to suit himself to his Prince's humour, in order to please.

It is of singular use also to Princes, to take the opinions of their Council, both separately and together. For private opinion is more free; but opinion before others is more guarded. In private, men are more bold in their own humours; but in concert, are more obnoxious to others humours; therefore it is good to take both: of the inferior sort, rather in private, to preserve freedom; of the greater, rather in concert, to preserve respect.

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It is in vain for Princes to take Counsel concerning things, if they take none likewise concerning persons: for all Things are as dead images; and the life of the execution of affairs consists chiefly in a right choice of persons. Neither is it sufficient to consult concerning persons, *secundum genera*, as in an idea, or mathematical description; that is, what the kind and character of the person ought to be; for the greatest errors are committed, and the most judgment is shewn, in the choice of individuals.

THIS saying also should not be forgot; *Optimi Consiliarii mortui*: Books do not spare to speak truth, when living Counsellors perhaps are apt to slide into flattery. Therefore it is good to turn over books much, especially of such authors as have themselves been at the helm.

COUNCILS, at this day, in most places, are hardly any thing else but meetings, and familiar conversations; where matters are rather talked over, than debated with due arguments. And they generally run too precipitately

precipitately to the order, or act of Council. It would be better, that, in causes of importance, the matter was propounded one day, and spoken to the next, *in nocte consilium*. So was it appointed in the commission of Union between *England* and *Scotland*, which was a grave and orderly assembly.

For private petitions, I approve of set days: as this both gives the petitioners more certainty for their attendance, and it frees and disburthens the more solemn meetings for matters of state, that they may be the better able *hoc agere*, “to attend the present business.”

In choice of committees for ripening business for the Council, it is better to chuse indifferent persons, that incline to neither side, than to make a kind of equality, by putting in those that strongly favour both sides.

I COMMEND also standing Commissions; such, for instance, as shall separately take care of trade, the treasury, war, suits, particular provinces; for where there are particular Councils, and but one Council of state,

state, as it is in *Spain*, they are in effect no more than standing commissions, only they have greater authority.

LET such as are to inform councils out of their particular professions, as lawyers, seamen, mintmen, &c. be first heard before committees; and then, as occasion serves, before the council: and let them not come in multitudes, or in a tumultuous manner; for that is only to perplex, not to inform them.

A KING, when he presides in Council, should beware how he declares his own opinion too soon: If he does this, the Counsellors will take the lead from him, and, instead of a free Counsel, will be flattering and servile.

OF DELAYS.

FORTUNE is not unlike the market; where many times, if you can stay a little, the price will fall. Again, it is sometimes likened to the *Sibyl's* offer, who at first presents the commodity entire, then consumes some parts, and still demands the whole price. For occasion, as we have it in the common verse, “turns us a bald noddle, after she has presented her locks in front, and no hold is taken:” Or at least turns the handle of the bottle first to be received, and afterwards the belly, which is hard to grasp.

THERE is surely no greater wisdom than to time well the beginning and onset of things. Dangers are no longer light, than they seem so; and more have received, than have offered violence. It were better to meet some dangers half way, than to be perpetually enquiring into, and watching their motions and approaches; for he that
over-

over-watches himself sometimes falls asleep. On the contrary, to be deceived with too long shadows, as some have been when the moon was low, and shone on their enemies back, and so to shoot off before the time; or to teach dangers to come on by too early preparation against them, is another extreme. For the ripeness or unripeness of the occasion, must ever be exactly weighed. And generally it is good to commit the beginning of all great actions to *Argus* with his hundred eyes; and the end to *Briareus* with his hundred hands; first to watch, and then to speed. The helmet of *Pluto*, which truly makes the politic man invisible, is secrecy in counsel, and celerity in execution; there is no secrecy comparable to Celerity; like the motion of a cannon-bullet, which flies so swift, that it outruns the eye.

O F C U N N I N G.

BY Cunning, we mean a certain crooked and sinister wisdom. And certain it is, there is a great difference between a cunning and a wise man; not only in point of honesty, but also in point of ability. There are some that know how to pack the cards, and yet cannot play well; so there are some, that have a good knack at managing canvasses and factions, who are otherwise weak men. Again, it is one thing to understand the nature and manner of persons, and another thing to understand business; for many are perfect in mens humours, that are not greatly capable of the real part of business; which is the very constitution of one, who has studied men more than books. Such men are fitter for practice than counsel, and are good only in their own walks. Turn them to new men, and they have lost their aim; so as the old rule, to know a fool from a wise man, “send them both to strangers and you shall
“see,”

“ see,” doth scarce apply to these men : and because these cunning men are like haberdashers of small wares, it will not be amiss to examine their shops.

It may be reckoned a point of Cunning, for a man to observe nicely the countenance of him with whom he speaks ; a rule which the *Jesuits* also observe : for there are many men, and those wise too, that have secret hearts, and transparent countenances ; but this should be done with a demure down cast of the eye by turns, as the *Jesuits* also used to do.

ANOTHER piece of Cunning is; that when you desire to obtain any thing easily, and to have it soon dispatched, you detain and pre-engage the party with whom you treat, by bringing in discourse some other business, lest he should be too much awake to objections and scruples. I knew a certain counsellor and secretary, that never came to Queen *Elizabeth* with bills to sign, but he would first draw her into discourse about some weighty state-affairs, to the end that

being intent upon these, she might be less attentive to the bills.

A SUDDEN surprise has the same effect. Bringing forward a subject, when the party treated with is hastening to others, and cannot allow time to consider the matter accurately.

IF a man would cross a business that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himself; but in such a manner as to destroy the success of it.

THE breaking off in the middle of discourse, as if a man took himself up, creates a greater desire in him with whom you confer, to enquire further: and, as that makes a stronger impression which is got from you by question, than what you offer of yourself, you may lay a bait for a question, by putting on an unusual visage, whereby an occasion may be given to the other to ask, "What that change of countenance means;" as *Nehemiah* did: "And
" I had

“ I had not before that time been sad before
“ the king.”

IN things that are tender and unpleasing, it is good to break the ice by some whose words are of less weight, and to reserve the more weighty voice, to come in as by chance upon the other's speech; as *Narcissus* did, in relating to *Claudius* the marriage of *Mesfalina* and *Silius*:

IN things that a man would not be seen in himself, it is not amiss to borrow the name of the world: as if a man should use some such form as this; “ The world says;” or, “ There is a speech abroad.”

I KNEW one, that when he wrote a letter, would always put that which was most material in the postscript, as a thing that he had almost forgot.

I KNEW another, that, when he came to have a conference with any person, used to pass over that which he was most concerned for, go away, then come back again, and

at last mention the thing, as if it had almost slipped out of his mind.

OTHERS permit themselves to be surprised, when it is likely the party they lay wait for, will suddenly come upon them, and be found with a paper in their hand, or doing something contrary to custom; that they may be asked about those things, which in reality they are desirous themselves to relate.

It is a good piece of Cunning to let fall those words in a man's own name, which he would have another man lay hold and make use of, that thereby he may ensnare and ruin the other.

I KNEW two that were competitors for the secretary's place in queen *Elizabeth's* time, who nevertheless treated one another amicably, for they often conferred together about the business of their competition: and one of them said, "That to be secretary in "the declension of a monarchy," was a thing of no small danger; and that he for his part did by no means affect an honour of
that

that kind. The other straight caught up, in simplicity of heart, those words which were craftily thrown out, and discoursed freely with some of his friends, “ That he had no
 “ reason to be ambitious of the secretary’s
 “ place in the declension of a monarchy.” The first made advantage of this, and took care to have those words brought to the queen, as though uttered by his competitor: who resenting the expression, when she thought herself in vigour, would never after hear of the other’s suit.

THERE is a cunning, which we in *England* call “ The turning cat in pan ;” which is, when that which a man says to another, is mentioned as if another had said it to him; and indeed it is not easy when such a matter passed between two, to make it appear from which of them it first originated.

THERE is an artifice in use, of glancing at others, to justify one’s self by negatives: as to say, “ This I do not do ;” as *Tigellinus* did by insinuation against *Burrhus* ; *Se non diversas spes, sed incolumitatem imperatoris, simpliciter spectare.* And *Parmeno*, in the *Eunuch* :

*nuch : Atque hæc qui misit, non sibi soli postulat
se vivere : neque pugnæ narrat, neque cicatrices
suas ostentat, neque tibi obstat, quod quidam facit,
verum ubi, &c.*

SOME have in readinesf so many tales and stories, that there is nothing they would insinuate, but they can wrap up in a tale; whence they both keep themselves more on their guard, as affirming nothing expressly, and yet cause the matter itself to be spread with greater delight.

It is a point of good Cunning, for a man to shape the answer he would have, in his own words and propositions; for it makes the other party less inclined to hesitate.

It is strange to see how long some men will wait for an opportunity to speak something they are desirous to communicate, what a compass they will fetch : and how many other matters talk over, that they may come to the point aimed at. This certainly is a thing of great patience, but of much use.

AN unexpected bold question, sometimes surprizes a man, and lays him open. Something like this happened to a man that had changed his name, and walking in *St. Paul's*, another came behind him, and called him by his true name; on which he immediately looked back.

BUT these petty points of Cunning are infinite; and it would be a good deed, to make a large list of them, because nothing does more hurt in a state, than for cunning to pass for wisdom.

BUT certainly there are some, that know the periods and pauses of business, who are not able to enter into the heart and bottom of it: like houses, that have convenient stairs and entries, but not a good room. Therefore you shall see such men find out pretty issues or out-lets in the conclusion of deliberations, who are no ways able to examine or debate on them. And yet they frequently take advantage of others inability, and would be thought fitter to direct and determine, than to dispute. Some build more upon abusing of others, and putting tricks

tricks upon them, than on the soundness of their own proceedings: but *Solomon* saith, “The wisdom of the prudent is to understand his way; but the folly of fools is deceit.” *Prov.* xiv. 8.

OF SELF-WISDOM.

AN Ant is a wise creature for itself; but it is destructive to an orchard or garden. And certainly men that are too great lovers of themselves, are an injury to the public. Divide therefore with reason between self-love and the love of the public; and be your own best friend, so as not to be injurious to others; especially to your king and country. Self is a poor centre of a man's actions; like the earth which stands fast upon its own centre; whereas every thing that has affinity with the heavens, move upon the centre of another which they benefit.

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The referring of all to a man's self is more tolerable in sovereign princes, because their self is of a complex nature; and the good or evil they do extends to the public fortune. But it is a desperate evil in a servant to a prince, or a citizen in a republic: for whatever affairs pass through such a man's hands, he contrives them to answer his own ends; which must needs be often eccentric to the ends of his master, or the state. Therefore let princes and states chuse such ministers and servants, as have not this mark upon them; unless they mean their own affairs should be made but an accessory. That which makes this effect the more pernicious, is, that all proportion is lost. For it is disproportion enough, when the servants good is preferred before the master's; but it is a greater extreme, when a little good of the servant is carried against a greater good of the master's: yet this is the case of bad officers; as treasurers, ambassadors, generals, and other servants when false and corrupt; who are often biaſſed by their own paltry views and jealousies, to the overthrow of their masters great and important affairs. Though for the most part, the good such servants receive,

receive, is after the model of their own fortune; but the hurt they do, in exchange for that good, is after the model of their masters fortune. For the nature of these self-lovers is such, they will set a neighbour's house on fire, if it be but to roast their eggs; and yet such servants many times hold credit with their masters; because their study is but to please them, and profit themselves; and to accomplish either they will betray the fortune of their constituent,

WISDOM for a man's self only, is, in many respects, a depravity of heart. It may be compared to the sagacity of rats, that will be sure to leave a house a little before it falls: to the cunning of the fox, who thrusts the badger out of the hole that he dug for himself: to the art of the crocodile, that sheds tears, when he would devour. But this is particularly to be observed; that those sort of men, who (as *Cicero* says of *Pompey*) "are lovers of themselves without a rival," are many times unfortunate; and as they have all their life sacrificed to themselves, in the end they sacrifice to the
incon-

inconstancy of *Fortune*, whose wings they thought they had clipt by that notable Self-wisdom.

OF INNOVATIONS.

AS living creatures, at their first births, are ill-shapen; so are all Innovations, which are the birth of time. Yet, notwithstanding, as those that first bring honour into their family are commonly more worthy than their successors, so the first patterns and precedents of things (when they are happily cast) are generally beyond the power of the succeeding age to imitate. For ill, in the perverted nature of man, has a natural motion, which grows stronger by continuance: but good, as in all forced motions, is strongest at first.

CERTAINLY, every medicine is an Innovation; and he that will not apply new remedies, must expect new evils: for time is the

the great innovator ; and if time, of course, alters things for the worse, and wisdom and counsel do not labour to alter them for the better, what will be the end ? It must be granted, that what is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at least is fit for the times ; and that those things, which have long gone together, are joined to one another by a kind of confederacy : whereas, on the other side, new things do not so well agree with old ; for though they help by their utility, yet they trouble by their novelty and want of conformity. Besides, they are like strangers and foreigners, more admired, and less loved. All this is true indeed, if time stood still ; which on the contrary, runs round incessantly in a circle. Hence it is, that a stiff and froward retention of custom is as turbulent as an Innovation ; and they that reverence antient usages too superstitiously, are the scorn of the present age. It were prudent therefore, if men in their Innovations would follow the example of time itself ; for time innovates more than any thing ; but does it quietly, and by degrees scarcely to be perceived ; for this is certain, that whatever is new comes

unexpected and unlooked for; adds something to one, and takes from another: now he that is bettered by an Innovation, thanks *Fortune* and the time; but he that is hurt, accuses the author of the Innovation of doing him an injury.

It is good also, not to try new experiments in bodies politic, except the necessity be urgent, or the utility evident: and to take good care that it be the desire of reformation that draws on the change, and not the desire of change that pretends the reformation. Further, all novelty, though perhaps it must not be rejected, yet ought ever to be held suspected. And lastly, as the Scripture directs, "Let us make a stand
" upon the antient ways, and then look
" about us and discover what is the straight
" and right way, and so walk in it."

OF DISPATCH.

OVER-GREAT and affected Dispatch is generally the ruin of business. It is like that, which the physicians call predigestion, or hasty-digestion; which is wont to fill the body with crudities, and secret seeds of diseases. Therefore measure not Dispatch by the times of sitting to business, but by the advancement of the business itself. And as in a race, it is not the large stride, or high lift of the feet, but the low and even motion of them, that makes the speed; so in business, the keeping close to the matter, and not greedily taking too much of it at one time, procures dispatch.

It is the only concern of some, to seem to have done much in a little time; or to contrive some false periods of business, to the end they may be thought men of dispatch. But it is one thing to abbreviate by contracting, another by cutting off: and business so handled, that is, at several sit-
tings

tings or meetings, goes commonly backward and forward, in a very unsteady manner. I knew a wise man, that had it always in his mouth, when he saw men hasten too much to a conclusion; "Stay a little, that we may make an end the sooner."

ON the other side, true Dispatch is a precious thing. For time is the measure of business, as money is of wares. Therefore business is bought at a dear rate, where there is too much delay. The *Spartans* and *Spaniards* have been noted for small Dispatch; *Mi venga la muerte de Spagna;* "Let my death come from *Spain*;" then I am sure, it will be long a coming.

GIVE fair hearing to those that are appointed to give the first information in business; and rather direct them in the beginning, than interrupt them often in the thread of their speeches: for he that is put out of the order he prescribed himself, will go forward and backward, and become more perplex, whilst he recollects his memory, than he would have been otherwise, if he had

gone on in his own method. But sometimes it is seen, that the moderator is more troublesome than the orator.

REPETITIONS are commonly loss of time: nevertheless there is no gain of time equal to that of repeating often the state of the question: for it causes many a frivolous speech to miscarry in the very birth. Long and curious speeches are as fit for dispatch as a long robe trailing upon the ground is for a race. Prefaces, fine transitions, apologies, and other speeches referring to the person of the speaker, are great wasters of time; and though they may seem to proceed from moderation, yet in truth their aim is glory. Yet beware of falling point-blank upon the matter at first, when there is found any impediment or obstruction in mens wills; to remove prepossessions in the audience requires an exordium; like a fomentation before-hand, to make the unguent enter the more kindly.

ABOVE all things, order, and distribution, and an apt selection of parts, are the life of dispatch; yet so that the distribution

bution be not too minute: for he that does not divide, will never enter cleverly into business; and he that divides too much, will scarce come out of it clearly. To make a prudent choice of time saves abundance of labour; and an unreasonable motion is but beating the air, and mispending time. There are three parts of business: the preparation, the debate or examination, and the perfection. If you look for expedition, let the middle be the work of many; but the first and the last the work of few.

To enter upon business from a written plan, for the most part promotes dispatch: for though it should happen to be wholly rejected, yet that negative is more pregnant of direction, than an indefinite; as ashes are more generative than dust.

OF SEEMING WISDOM.

IT is a received opinion, that the *French* are wiser than they seem; and the *Spaniards* seem wiser than they are. But however it be between nations, it is certainly so between man and man. For as the apostle speaks of godliness, “Having a shew of
“godliness, but denying the power there-
“of;” so certainly there are some to be found, that trifle solemnly, being by no means wise men; *Magno conatu nugas*. Surely it is a ridiculous thing to persons of judgment and fit for satire, to see into how many shapes these pretenders will turn themselves, and what shades they use, to make a surface seem a body, which hath depth and bulk.

SOME are so close and reserved, that they will not shew their thoughts but by a half light; and would always seem to reserve something, and to hint rather than to speak: and when they know within themselves, that they are speaking of that they do not
well

well understand; they would nevertheless seem to others to know that which they can not safely speak.

SOME help themselves with countenance and gesture, and are wise as it were by signs; as *Cicero* saith of *Piso*, that when he answered him, he drew one of his brows up to his forehead, and bent the other down to his chin: *Respondes, altero ad frontem sublato, altero ad mentum depresso supercilio, crudelitatem tibi non placere.*

OTHERS think to carry their point by speaking a great word, and that in a peremptory stile: and so on they go, and take for granted that, which they cannot make good.

WHATEVER is above some men's capacity, they will seem to despise or make light of, as impertinent or curious; and so pass their ignorance upon others for exact judgment.

OTHERS are ever ready with some distinction; and for the most part, by amusing men with a subtilty, slide over the matter.

Of men of this description *A. Gellius* saith, “ A superficial wit, that breaks the weight “ of things by the niceties of words.” Of which kind also, *Plato* in his *Protagoras*, by way of banter, brings in *Prodicus* making a speech that consists of distinctions from the beginning to the end.

GENERALLY, such men in all deliberations love to be of the negative side, and affect a credit by starting and foretelling impediments and difficulties; for when a proposition is utterly rejected, there is an end of it; but if it be allowed, it requires a new work; which spurious kind of Wisdom is the very bane of business.

To conclude, there is not a deep indebted merchant, nor secret bankrupt, has so many arts to make a shew of wealth, as these empty persons have to uphold the credit of their sufficiency. Certainly, men of such a standard of wisdom may easily get reputation among the common people: but let no man chuse them for weighty employments: for doubtless you had better take for business a man somewhat absurd, than such a nauseous formalist.

OF

OF FRIENDSHIP.

IT would be difficult indeed, even for him that spake it, to have put more truth and untruth together, and in fewer words too, than in this sentence: "Whosoever is delighted with solitude, is either a wild beast, or a god:" for it is most true, that a natural and secret hatred of, or an aversion to society in any man, has something of the savage beast; yet it is equally untrue, on the contrary, that it should have any character at all of the Divine Nature, unless it proceeds not merely from a love of solitude, but from a desire of sequestering a man's self, in order to attend higher contemplations; such as is found to have been, but affectedly and feignedly, in some of the heathens; as in *Epimenides* the *Candian*, *Numa* the *Roman*, *Empedocles* the *Sicilian*, and *Apollonius* of *Tyana*: but strictly true in several of the ancient hermits, and holy fathers of the church.

MEN,

MEN, however, have a very imperfect notion of what is called solitude, and what are its limits. For a great crowd must not be called company; faces are but a gallery of pictures; and talk, where there is no love, is no better than a tinkling cymbal. The *Latin* adage hints as much, “A great city is a great wilderness;” because, in great towns, friends and acquaintance are remotely dispersed, so that there is not that fellowship, for the most part, which is in less neighbourhoods. But we may go further still, and affirm most truly, that it is a meer and miserable solitude to want true friends, without whom the world is but a wilderness; and even in this sense also of solitude, whosoever in the frame of his nature is averse to Friendship, takes this disposition from the beast, and not from the man.

THE greatest fruit of Friendship is the ease and discharge of the anxiety and swellings of the heart, which the passions, of what kind soever, usually create. We know that those diseases in the body are most dangerous, which arise from stoppages and suffocations:

suffocations : and it is not much otherwise in diseases of the soul. You may take saza to open the liver, prepared steel to open the spleen, flower of sulphur for the lungs, castor for the brain ; but there is no opening medicine found for the obstructions of the heart, besides a faithful friend ; to whom you may impart griefs, joys, fears, hopes, suspicions, cares, counsels, and in short whatsoever lies upon the heart, under the seal as it were of a civil confession.

It is strange to consider, how high a rate the greatest princes and monarchs set upon this fruit of friendship, of which we are speaking : so great, that they purchase it sometimes at the hazard both of their own safety and greatness. For princes, from the distance and sublimity of their fortune, above that of their servants and subjects, cannot gather this fruit, unless, to gather it the better, they raise and advance some persons, to be in some measure companions and equals to themselves ; which many times, is not without inconvenience. The modern languages give such persons the name of favourites, as if it were a matter

matter of grace or conversation; but the *Roman* name expresses the true use and cause thereof, naming them *Particeps curarum*, "Partakers of their cares;" for this is that which ties the knot. And we see plainly this has been done, not by soft and weak princes only, but by the wisest and most politic that ever reigned; who have often joined themselves to some of their servants, whom they have called friends, and allowed others to honour them with that name; using no other word, than what is received between private men.

L. SYLLA, after he had seized the *Roman* empire, raised *Pompey* (afterwards surnamed the *Great*) to that height, that he gave himself airs, as if he were now become *Sylla's* superior: he had made a friend of his consul, in opposition to *Sylla*, at which *Sylla* was offended, and spoke some words of high resentment: *Pompey* could not brook this, but almost in express words bade him be quiet; adding, "that more men adored
"the sun-rising than the sun-setting."
With *Julius Cæsar*, *Decimus Brutus* had that interest, that *Cæsar* made him heir in remainder

mainder after his nephew *Octavius*. And this was the man that lured *Cæsar* to his death. For when *Cæsar* intended to have discharged the senate, on account of some ill presages (especially a dream of his wife *Calpurnia*), *Brutus* lifting him gently by the arm out of his chair, told him, he hoped “ he did not value a senate so little, as to “ think of dissolving it, till such time as “ his wife had dreamed a better dream.” And he seems indeed to have been so highly in favour with *Cæsar*, that *Antony*, in a letter, which is recited *verbatim* by *Cicero* in one of his *Philippics*, charged him with sorcery, as if he had enchanted *Cæsar*. *Augustus* raised *Agrippa*, though of mean birth, to that height, that when he consulted with *Mæcenas* about the marriage of his daughter *Julia*, *Mæcenas* took the liberty to tell him, “ That he must either make *Agrippa* his “ son-in-law, or take away his life; that “ there was no other alternative, since he “ had made him so great.”

TIBERIUS CÆSAR advanced *Sejanus* to such honours, that they were reckoned as a pair of friends: *Tiberius*, it is certain, in a letter

letter to him, writes thus : “ These things, “ in regard of our friendship, I have not “ concealed from you :” and the whole senate dedicated an altar to Friendship, as to a goddess, from a regard to the strong affection of friendship between them.

AN instance of a^d like, or even greater friendship, is seen between *Septimius Severus* and *Plantianus* ; for he forced his eldest son to marry *Plantianus*’s daughter ; and he often honoured *Plantianus*, even to affront his son. Nay more, he wrote to the senate in these words : “ I love the man so well, that “ I wish he may survive me.” Now, had these Princes been like a *Trajan*, or a *Marcus Aurelius*, this might have been attributed to an extraordinary goodness of nature in them ; but being men of such wisdom, strength, severity of mind, and such mighty lovers of themselves, it proves clearly, that they have looked upon their own happiness (though greater had scarce ever happened to mortal men) as defective, unless by such friendships it had become entire and perfect. And yet, what is more, they were princes that had wives, sons, and nephews ;
still

still all these things could not supply the comforts of friendship.

THE observation is by no means to be forgot, that *Commines* has left of his first master, Duke *Charles*, surnamed the *Hardy*; namely, “that he would communicate his secrets with no one; and least of all, those secrets that troubled him most.” And he goes on, and says, “That the closeness in his latter years, did a little impair and perish his understanding.” Surely *Commines* might, if he had pleased, have made the same judgment of his second master, *Lewis* the *Eleventh*, whose closeness was his torment. The parable of *Pythagoras* is dark, but excellent: “Eat not thy heart.” Certainly, if a man would give it a hard phrase, those that want friends to impart their thoughts and anxieties freely to, are cannibals of their own hearts.

BUT this is very wonderful, which concludes my discourse, concerning the first fruit of friendship, namely, that this communicating of a man's self to his friend,

I works

works two contrary effects; it redoubles joys, and cuts sorrow in half. For no man imparts his joys to a friend, but he enjoys them more; and no one communicates his sorrows to a friend, but his sorrows are less. So that in truth it has the same virtue and operation upon a man's mind, as the alchymists use to attribute to their stone upon a man's body; that is, to work contrary effects, but still to the good and benefit of nature. But yet, without calling in the aid of chymists, there is a manifest image of this, in the ordinary course of nature. For in bodies, union cherishes and strengthens all natural actions; and, on the other side, weakens and deadens any violent impression; and even so it is in minds.

THE second fruit of friendship is beneficial to the understanding, as the first to the affections. For friendship introduces a serenity in the affections from storms and tempests; but in the understanding, it even drives away darkness and infuses light, by dissipating confusion of thought. Nor is this to be understood of faithful counsel only, such as friends use to give; but before

fore we speak of that, certain it is, that whosoever has his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wit and understanding clear up as it were into day-light, by communicating counsels, and discoursing with another. For he conveys his thoughts more easily, and turns them all ways; he marshals them more orderly; he looks them in the face, when they are turned into words: finally, he becomes wiser than himself; and that more by an hour's discourse, than by a whole day's meditation. It was well said by *Themistocles* to the King of *Persia*, "That conference was like tapestry, opened and unfolded, whereby the figures appear distinctly; whereas thoughts, like packs, are complicated and involved."

NOR is this second fruit of friendship, which consists in opening the obstructions of the understanding, restrained only to such as are able counsellors; they doubtless are best; but even setting that aside, a man certainly learns of himself, brings his own thoughts to light, and whets his wit as against a stone, which cuts not itself. In a word, a man had better impart himself to a

statue or picture, than smother his thoughts in silence.

LET us add, to make our discourse concerning this last subject more complete, the following observation, which falls within vulgar notice; I mean “faithful counsel from a friend.” *Heracitus* asserts well in one of his *Ænigmas*, “That dry light is best.” And most certain it is, that the light which proceeds from another by way of counsel, is purer than that, which issues from a man’s own judgment and understanding, which is ever infused with partiality in his affections; so that there is as much difference between the counsel of a friend, and what a man gives himself, as between the counsel of a friend and a flatterer. For there is not a more deadly flatterer than a man’s self, nor a more sovereign remedy against it than the liberty of a friend.

COUNSEL is of two sorts: the one concerning manners; the other concerning business. For the first. The best preservative to keep the mind in health, is the admoni-

tion

tion of a faithful friend. The calling of a man's self to a strict account, is a medicine sometimes too piercing and corrosive. Reading books of morality is a little flat and dead. Observing our own defects in others, as in a mirror, sometimes, as it happens also in glasses, does not answer exactly. But, the best medicine to take, and most effective, is the admonition of a friend.

It is strange to behold, what gross errors and extreme absurdities, some, especially of the greater sort, commit, for want of a friendly counsel, which hurts both their reputation and fortune; for they are, as the Apostle St. *James* says, "As men that look into a glass, and presently forget their own shape and favour."

As for business, it is an old saying, "That two eyes see better than one." It is also well said, "That a looker-on often sees more than a player." Further, a musket is shot off with more certainty upon a rest than upon the arm; though some are so highly conceited, as to think themselves

all in all. But, whatever may be said to the contrary, it is certain that counsel directs and establishes business.

Now, if man takes counsel by pieces, asking in one business of one man, and in another business of another, it is well, or better, perhaps, than if he asked none at all; but he runs two dangers; one, that he will scarce meet with faithful counsel; for it is a rare thing, except it be from a perfect and entire friend, to have counsel given that is not likely to be perverted to some ends which he has, who gives it; the other, that the counsels coming from different persons, though given honestly, and with good intention, will be often hurtful and unsafe; mixt and made up partly of mischief, and partly of remedy: even, as if you should send for a physician, that is thought good for the cure of the disease you complain of, but is unacquainted with your constitution, and therefore may put you in a way for present cure, but with danger of prejudicing your health in the end, and so cure the disease, and kill the patient. But a friend, who is perfectly acquainted
with

with a man's estate, will beware, by furthering any present business, how he dashes upon a future inconvenience ; and therefore, I would not advise you to rest upon scattered counsels, for they will rather distract and mislead, than direct and settle.

AFTER these two noble fruits of friendship, I mean " peace in the affections, and " support of the judgment," follows the last, which is, like the pomegranate, full of many kernels ; I mean aid, and bearing a part in the actions and occasions of life.

AND here, the most expeditious way of representing to the life the manifold use of friendship, is to look about and see how many things there are which a man cannot handsomely do himself ; and then it will appear, that it was not hyperbolical, but a sober speech of the antients to say, " That " a friend is a second self ;" since, if a man considers the thing truly, the offices of a friend surpass a man's own strength. Men are mortal, and die many times in the midst of certain works, which they have principally at heart ; as in the marrying of

a son, the consummating of their attempts and desires, and the like. Now, if a man has a faithful friend, he has a security given him, that those things will be finished by the care and labour of his friend, after his death; so that an untimely death is scarce any prejudice; and a man has (to speak after the manner of farmers) not one, but two lives in his desires. A man is confined to a body, and that body confined to a place; but where friendship is at hand, all offices of life are granted to him, and his deputy.

How many things are there, which a man cannot do himself with any grace or decorum? He cannot recite his own merits with modesty, much less extol them: A man cannot brook to supplicate or beg; and yet there is an infinity of things of this kind. But these things are graceful enough in a friend's mouth, which are blushing in a man's own. Again, a man's person or character carries with it many concomitants, which he cannot put off. A man cannot speak to a son, but as a father; to a wife, but as a husband; to an enemy, but with a reserve;

reserve; whereas it is allowed a friend to speak, as the case requires; nor is he tied up to any regard for person or character. But to enumerate these things were endless. I have given the rule: where a man is not able to act his own part in the play, if he has not a friend, it is better for him to quit the stage.

OF REGIMEN.

IN the ordering of health, there is a wisdom to be found beyond the rules of physic: a man's own observation, what he finds good, and what is hurtful, is the best physic to preserve health. But it is a safer conclusion to say; "I have found hurt by this, therefore I will not continue it;" than this, "I find no offence of this, therefore I may use it." For strength of nature in youth covers many excesses, which are owing a man till his age. Discern the coming on of years, and venture not to continue,

tinue the same things always : for there is no defying age.

BEWARE of a sudden change in any principal point of regimen ; and if necessity enforce it, fit the rest to it. For it is a secret both in nature and politics, “ That it is “ safer to change many things than one “ great one.” Examine your customs of diet, sleep, exercise, apparel, &c. and then try to discontinue it by little and little ; yet so as to return to it again, if you find any inconvenience by the change : for it is hard to distinguish that which is good and wholesome, from that which suits your particular constitution.

To be free-minded and chearfully disposed at hours of meat, sleep, and exercise, is one of the best precepts for prolongation of life. As for the passions of the mind and studies ; avoid envy, anxious fears, anger kept in, subtle and knotty disquisitions, joy and exhilaration in excess, sadness smothered. Entertain hopes ; mirth rather than joy ; variety of delights, rather than satiety ; wonder and admiration, and therefore novelties

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If you totally fly physic in health, it will be too strange to your body when there is a necessity for it. If you make it too familiar, it will work no extraordinary effect when sickness comes. I approve rather certain diets, at certain seasons, than frequent use of physic ; unless it be grown into a custom. For those diets alter the body more, and trouble it less,

DESPISE not any new and unusual accident in your body, but take advice about it.

IN sickness respect health principally ; and in health make use of your body, and be not over-indulgent to it. For those that put their bodies to endure, in health, may, in most illnesses, such I mean as are not very acute, be cured by diet only, and proper attention, without much physic.

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man. He advises as a secret of Health and long life, that a man vary, and, now and then, interchange contrarieties ; but with an inclination to the more benign extreme. For instance ; use a spare and full diet, but often-
er the latter ; accustom yourself to watch-
ing, and full sleep, but rather full sleep ; to
sitting and exercise, but rather exercise : for
so shall nature be both cherished and strength-
ened at once.

PHYSICIANS are some of them so pleasing
and conformable to the humour of the pa-
tient, that they press not the true cure of
the disease ; and some others are so regular
and strict in proceeding according to art,
in the cure of the disease, that they do not
sufficiently regard the condition and nature
of the patient. Take a physician of a mid-
dle description ; or if this succeed not to
your desire in any one physician, combine
two of either sort ; and forget not to send
for, as well the best acquainted with your
body, as the best approved of in his profes-
sion.

OF SUSPICION.

SUSPICIONS among thoughts, are like bats among birds; they never fly but by twilight. Certainly, they ought to be repressed, or at least to be carefully guarded: for they cloud the understanding, alienate friends, and interrupt business; so that it can neither be carried on chearfully nor steadily. They dispose kings to tyranny; husbands to jealousy; even wise men to irresolution and melancholy. They are defects, not so much of the heart as of the brain: for they find room even in the stoutest natures; as in the example of *Henry the Seventh of England*; than whom there was not a more suspicious or resolute man. And in such a composition they do little hurt; for commonly they are not admitted, but with examination whether they are probable or not. But in fearful natures they gain ground a great deal too fast. Certainly nothing makes a man so suspicious, as to know little. Therefore the best remedy against suspicions, is for

a man to make good enquiry. “What would
“men have, I wonder? Do they think that
“all men, that they employ and converse
“with, are angels or saints? Don’t they
“know, that they labour for their own private
“ends; and that every man is nearer a-kin
“to himself than to another?” Therefore
there is no better way to moderate suspicions,
than to provide remedies, as if the suspicions
were true; and to bridle them, as though
they were false. For so far suspicions may
be of use, viz. in putting us upon making
such provision, as that, though the thing we
suspect is true, yet it may do us no hurt.

SUSPICIONS, which the mind fosters, are
nothing but empty phantoms. But such as
are nourished by outward artifice, and put
into men’s heads by the stories of whisper-
ers and tale-bearers, have certainly stings.
The best way to get clear of this intricate
wood of suspicions, is a frank and open de-
claration of them to the parties we suspect.
For thereby we cannot fail of knowing more
of the truth than we did before: and this
will likewise make the party we suspect
more cautious and circumspect, not to give
fur-

further cause of suspicion. But this must not be done to men of base, degenerate natures : for if they find themselves once suspected, they will never be true afterwards. The *Italians* have a bye-word : *Sospetto licentia fede* : as if suspicion gave a passport to faith ; whereas it ought rather to kindle it, in order to clear itself.

OF DISCOURSE.

SOME in their discourse affect rather the commendation of wit, in being able to hold up all arguments, than of judgment, in finding out the truth : as if it were deserving praise, to know what may be said, and not what ought to be rejected. Some have in readiness certain common places and themes in which they are luxuriant, but as to other subjects barren : which kind of poverty is for the most part tedious, and, when it is detected, ridiculous.

THE

THE most honourable part of discourse is this: to introduce a subject seasonably, and moderate it, and then to pass to something else: for then a man leads the dance. It is good, in conversation and familiar discourse, to vary every now and then, and to intermingle the conversation of the day with topics of dispute; stories with arguments; asking of questions with telling opinions; and jest with earnest: for it is cloying to dwell upon any thing too far.

As for jest, there are certain things which ought to be exempted from it, by a kind of privilege; namely religion, matters of state, great persons, private men's business of importance, or any case that deserves pity. Yet you will meet with some, who think their wits asleep, unless they have darted out some poignant and biting sarcasm at a man. That is a habit which should by all means be restrained;

Parce puer stimulis, & fortius utere loris.

IN short, a difference is to be observed between attic wit and bitterness. Certainly, he that is fond of a satyrical vein, as he makes

makes others afraid of his wit, so he should be afraid of others memory.

HE that interrogates much, shall both learn and please much ; especially if he adapt his questions to the capacity and skill of the respondent ; for he will give him an occasion to shew his knowledge, and will himself be continually gathering a new increase of it. But let his questions not be troublesome, for that is fit for a disputant.

FURTHER, he that would keep up the decorum of familiar discourse, let him leave other men their turns to speak. Nay, if there be any that affect to reign in discourse, and to take up all the time, let him find some art to take them off, and to bring others on ; as the music is wont to moderate the dancers.

IF you dissemble sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to know, you shall be thought another time to know what you know not.

SPEECH

SPEECH of a man's self ought to be rare, and with judgment. I knew one, who would often say, by way of irony; "He must needs be an exceeding wise man, he talks so much of himself." There is scarcely any case where a man can commend himself with good grace, excepting one; and that is, in commending virtue in another; but I mean such a virtue to which he himself aspires.

SPEECH that stings others, should be sparingly used: for familiar discourse ought to be as an open field, wherein a man may expatiate; not like the high road, that leads home. I knew two noblemen of the west part of *England*, one of which indulged himself too much in raillery, but was exceeding hospitable; and the other would ask those that had been at the table of the former; "Tell truly, was there never a flout or dry rub given to any body?" To whom the guest would perhaps answer; "Such and such a thing passed." Upon this he, as being the other's rival, would say, "I knew well enough, he would spoil a good dinner with bad sauce."

DISCRETION

DISCRETION of speech is beyond eloquence ; and to speak suitably to the person with whom we talk, is more effectual than to affect method and the ornament of words. A good continued speech, without the ability of replying, shews slowness : and a good reply, or second speech, without an ability of making a continued one, discovers a poverty of knowledge : as we see in beasts, those that are weak in the course, are nimblest in the turn ; as it is between the greyhound and the hare. To use too long an exordium e're we come to the matter, is tedious ; to use none at all, is blunt and harsh.

OF EXPENCE.

THE end of riches is expence : the end of expence, honour, and honourable actions. Therefore extraordinary expence must be limited by the worth of the occasion. For voluntary poverty is a debt sometimes to a man's country, as well as to the

kingdom of heaven; but ordinary expence ought to be limited by a man's estate, to be so governed as not to exceed his income, and not subject to imposition or carelessness of servants: further, to be ordered and managed to the best shew, so as that the disbursements may be less than the generality of the world thinks. Certainly, if a man would not run out, his ordinary Expences ought not to exceed the half of his receipts; and if he thinks to increase his estate, not the third part of them.

It is no meanness, even in the greatest men, to condescend and look into their estates. Many forbear this, not so much out of negligence, as out of a fear of chagrining themselves, if they should find matters in an ill state. But wounds cannot be cured without searching. He that does not look into his estate himself, had need both chuse well the servants he employs, and change them often: for new ones are more timorous, and less subtle. If a man can look into his accounts but seldom, it behoves him to examine them with a degree of certainty.

A MAN

A MAN had need, if he is expensive in one instance, to be as saving again in some other. For example, if he be expensive in diet, to be saving in apparel: if plentiful in the hall, to be saving in the stable. Since he that is profuse in all kinds of Expences, will hardly be preserved from ruin.

IN clearing an estate, a man may as well hurt himself by too much haste, as by too much delay. Hasty selling is commonly as disadvantageous as money taken up at interest. Besides, he that clears at once is in danger of a relapse. For finding himself out of streights, he will return to his old ways: but he that extricates himself by degrees, induces a habit of frugality; and cures his mind and estate at once.

HE that would repair a decayed estate, must not despise even the minutest things: and it is less dishonourable to cut off petty charges, than to stoop to petty gains. A man ought to be very wary in beginning charges, which once begun will continue: but in Expences that are not likely to return, he may be more splendid and magnificent.

OF ENLARGING KINGDOMS, &c.

THE speech of *Themistocles*, applied to himself, was indeed rather haughty and arrogant ; but had it been spoken of others, and in general, it may seem to have comprehended a very wise observation, and grave censure. Desired at a feast to touch the lute, he answered, “ He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small town a great city.” These words drawn to a politic sense, excellently express and distinguish two different abilities in those that sit at the helm of States. For if a true survey be taken of all counsellors of princes, senators, and statesmen that ever were, there will be found doubtless, (though very rarely) those that can make a small state great, yet cannot fiddle : as, on the other hand, there will be found a great many, that are wondrous skilful upon the cittern or lute, (that is in court-trifles) but yet are so far from being able to make a small State great, that their talent seems rather to lie the other way ; to bring a great and flourishing

rishing state to ruin and decay. And certainly, those degenerate arts and shifts, whereby many times counsellors and ministers of state gain both favour with their masters, and esteem with the vulgar, deserve no better name than fiddling; being things rather pleasing for the present, and ornamental to the artists themselves, than tending to the wealth and advancement of the states which they serve. There are also, no doubt, other counsellors and governors, by no means to be despised, that are sufficient and equal to their business, and that can manage affairs dexterously, and keep them from precipices and manifest inconveniences; who, nevertheless, are far from the ability to raise and enlarge a state.

BUT be the workmen what they will, let us cast our eyes upon the work: that is to say, what may be judged the true greatness of kingdoms and states, and by what means it may be obtained: an argument fit for great princes to have perpetually in hand, and diligently to meditate: to the end that neither by over-measuring their forces, they may entangle themselves in vain and too

difficult enterprizes; nor, on the other side, by undervaluing them, descend to fearful and pusillanimous counsels.

THE greatness of empires, as to bulk and territory, falls under measure; as to revenues, it falls under computation. The population and number of citizens may be taken by musters; the number and greatness of cities and towns, by maps. But yet there is not any thing among civil affairs more subject to error, than the right valuation, and true judgment, concerning the power and strength of an empire. The kingdom of Heaven is compared not to any great kernel or nut, but to a grain of mustard-seed, which is one of the least grains, but hath in it a property and spirit, hastily to get up and spread. So are there Kingdoms and States in compass and territory very great, and yet not so apt to enlarge their bounds, or extend their command; and some, on the contrary, that have but a small dimension of original territory, and yet are the foundation of great monarchies.

FOR-

FORTIFIED towns, stored arsenals and armories, goodly breeds of horse, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artillery, &c. all this is but “a sheep in a lion’s skin,” unless the breed and disposition of the people be stout and warlike. Nay, number itself in armies signifies not much, where the soldiers are of weak courage. For *Virgil* says well, “It never troubles a wolf how many the sheep be.” The army of the *Persians*, in the plains of *Arbela*, lay under the eye of the *Macedonians*, like a vast sea of people, insomuch as *Alexander’s* commanders astonished at the spectacle, came to the king, and wished him to attack them by night: but he answered, “He would not steal a victory.” And the defeat was easier than could be imagined. When *Tigranes* the *Armenian*, being encamped upon a hill, with four hundred thousand men, discovered the army of the *Romans*, being not above fourteen thousand, marching towards him, he made himself merry with it, and said, “Yonder are men too many for an ambassador, and too few for a fight.” But before the sun set, he found them enough to give him the chase with infinite slaughter.

Innumerable are the examples of the great odds between number and courage. Let it be laid down then in the first place, for a most certain and undoubted maxim, that of all things tending to the greatness of any Kingdom or State, the principal is, to have a race of military men.

AND this also is a more trite than true saying, "That money is the sinews of war," where the sinews of men's arms, in a base and effeminate people, are wanting. For *Solon* said very properly to *Cræsus*, when in ostentation he shewed him his gold; "But if any one, O king! should come, that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold." Therefore let any prince or state, whose natives or subjects are not good soldiers, think soberly of their forces: and let princes, on the other hand, that have subjects of martial disposition, know their own strength, unless they are otherwise wanting to themselves. As to mercenary forces, (which is the usual remedy where native forces fail) all times are full of examples, whereby it manifestly appears, that whatever state or prince depends upon them,

“ he may spread his feathers for a time beyond the compass of his nest, but he will mew them soon after.”

THE blessing of *Judah* and *Issachar* will never meet; “ That the same tribe or nation should be both the lion’s whelp, and the ass between burthens.” Neither can it be, that a people over-burthened with taxes should ever become valiant and martial. It is true, that taxes levied by public consent of the state depress and abate mens courage less; as a man may plainly see in the tributes of the *Low-Countries*, which they call Excises; and in some degree in those contributions called Subsidies in *England*. For it is to be noticed, that we speak now of the heart, and not of the purse; so that though the same tribute and tax given by consent, or imposed by command, be all one to the purse, yet it works differently on the courage. Therefore lay this down for a principle, “ That no people over-charged with tribute, are fit for empire.”

LET

LET states and kingdoms that aim at greatness, by all means take heed how the nobility and those we call gentlemen, multiply too fast. For that makes the common subjects become mean and abject ; in fact, nothing better than the noblemen's bond-slaves and labourers. Even as you may see in copses, if you leave your trees too thick, you shall never have clean underwood ; but the greatest part will degenerate into shrubs and bushes : so in a country, if the nobility be too many, the commons will be base and heartless, and matters will be brought to that pass, that not the hundredth part will be fit to carry arms ; especially as to the infantry, which is the principal strength of an army ; and so there will be a great population and little strength. What I speak of, has been in no nation of the world more clearly proved, than in the examples of *England* and *France* ; the middle-people of *England* make good soldiers, which the peasants of *France* do not. And in this particular, the device of *Henry* the Seventh of *England* (of which I have spoken largely in the history of his life) was profound and admirable in making farms and houses of husbandry of a certain standard ;

ard; and maintained with a proportion of land sufficient for a subject to live in convenient plenty, and not in a servile condition; and to keep the plough in the hands of the owners, or leaseholders, and not hirelings: and thus indeed a country shall attain to *Virgil's* character, which he gives to antient *Italy*:

*Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt,
Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque ubere glebæ.*

ÆN. I. 434. 5.

“ A land there is, *Hesperia* nam'd of old,
“ The soil is fruitful, and the men are bold.”

DRYDEN.

NEITHER is that State, which is almost peculiar to *England*, and not to be found any where else, except it be perhaps in *Poland*, to be pass'd over; I mean the free-servants and attendants of the noblemen and gentlemen; of which sort, even they of inferior condition, do no way yield to the yeomanry, as soldiers. And therefore out of all question, the splendor, magnificence, great retinues, and hospitality of noblemen and gentlemen, customary in *England*, does singularly conduce to martial greatness; where-

as,

as, on the contrary, the close, reserved and contracted living of noblemen and gentlemen, causes a penury of military forces.

By all means care must be taken, that the trunk of *Nebuchadnezzar's* tree of monarchy is large and strong enough to bear the branches and the boughs; that is, the natural subjects of the crown or state should bear a sufficient proportion to the foreign subjects they govern. Those states that are liberal of naturalization towards strangers, seem to be well made for extent of empire. For it is a vain opinion to think that a handful of people should be able, with the greatest courage and policy in the world, to embrace and govern too large an extent of dominion. This they may do for a time, but it can never hold long. The *Spartans* were a sparing and nice people in point of naturalization: so long as they ruled within a small compass, they stood firm; but when they began to spread and enlarge their dominion, and that their boughs were become too great for the stem of the *Spartans* to keep in order, they became a falling kingdom. Never was any state so open to receive strangers

gers into their body, as were the *Romans*. And their success was equal to so wise an institution; for they grew to be the greatest monarchy in the world. Their manner was to grant naturalization, which they called *Jus civitatis*, and to grant it in the highest degree; that is, not only right of commerce, marriage, and inheritance, but also right of suffrage, and of canvassing or standing for places; and not only to single persons, but to whole families; even to cities, and sometimes to whole nations. Add to this, their custom of planting colonies, whereby the *Roman* plant was removed into the soil of other nations; and putting both constitutions together, you will say that it was not the *Romans* who spread upon the whole world, but, on the contrary, it was the whole world that spread upon the *Romans*; which is the surest way of enlarging the bounds of empire. I have wondered often at the *Spanish* monarchy, how they clasp and curb so many kingdoms and provinces with so few natural *Spaniards*. But surely *Spain* of itself may be looked upon as a good handsome stem; since it contains a far larger tract of country, than *Rome* or *Sparta*, at their.

their first rise. And though the *Spaniards* are sparing enough of naturalization, yet they have that which is next to it; that is, promiscuously to employ in their ordinary militia all nations whatsoever; and often they confer their highest commands of war, upon leaders that are no natural *Spaniards*; yet they seem, not long since, to have been sensible of the want of natives, and to have sought for a remedy, as appears by the Pragmatical Sanction published this year.

It is most certain; that mechanical sedentary arts, that are exercised without doors, and delicate manufactures, that require rather the finger than the arm, have in their nature a contrariety to a military disposition. And generally all warlike people are a little idle, and fear danger less than labour; and this temper of theirs must not be much checked, if we would preserve their vigour; therefore it was a great advantage to *Sparta*, *Athens*, *Rome*, and other antient states, that they had commonly not freemen, but slaves, to dispatch those manufactures. But the use of slaves, since the receiving of the Christian law, is in the greatest part abolished.

That

That which comes nearest to it is, to leave those arts to strangers only, who, for that purpose are to be courted to come amongst us, or at least to be received easily. The vulgar natives should consist of three sorts of men, tillers of the ground, free servants, and handicrafts-men of strong and manly arts; as smiths, masons, carpenters, &c. not reckoning professed soldiers.

BUT above all, for empire and greatness it imports most, that a nation profess the study of arms, as their principal glory and occupation. What we have hitherto spoken of are only the qualifications for arms; but to what purpose these, without discipline to render them efficient? *Romulus*, as they report, after his death sent this as a legacy to his countrymen, “that, above all, “they should study arms, and then they “would prove the greatest empire of the “world.”

THE whole fabric of the state of *Sparta* was, though not very wisely, but industriously, composed and framed to that scope and end, of being warriors. The *Persians*
and

and *Macedonians* had the same usage, but not so constant or lasting. The *Britons*, *Gauls*, *Germans*, *Goths*, *Saxons*, *Normans*, and some others, gave themselves principally to arms for cases of emergency. The *Turks*, spurred on not a little by their law, retain their antient usage to this day, though in great declension of their militia. The only nation that still retains it are the *Spaniards*. But it is a thing clear and manifest, “That every man profits most in that he “most studies.” And it may be sufficient to hint, that no nation, which does not directly profess arms, can expect to have any considerable greatness of empire fall into their mouths: on the other side, it is a most certain oracle of time, that those nations, who have continued long in the profession and study of arms, as the *Romans* and *Turks* principally have done, work wonders in the propagation of empire. Nay, those that have flourished in military glory but for the space only of one age, have, notwithstanding, attained the greatness of dominion, which they have kept a long time after, even when the discipline of arms has grown into decay.

It

It falls in with the preceding precept, for a state to have such laws and customs as may give them just occasion, or at least pretences of taking up arms. For there is that justice imprinted in the nature of men, that they forbear making war, upon which so many calamities ensue, but upon some weighty, or at least specious cause. The *Turk* has always at hand, and at command, for cause of war, the propagation of his law or sect. The *Romans*, though they esteemed the extending of the limits of their empire to be great honour to their generals, yet they never rested upon that alone to begin a war. Therefore a nation that aspires to empire should have this quality, to have a lively and quick sense of any wrongs, either upon bordering subjects, merchants, or public ministers; and should not sit too long upon the first provocation. Next, let them be forward and ready to send aids and succours to their allies and confederates, as the *Romans* were accustomed to; for if a hostile invasion was made upon a confederate, which had also leagues defensive with other states, and the same implored aid of several; the *Romans* would ever be the foremost, and

leave it to no other to have the honour of the kindness. As for the wars which were antiently made on account of a conformity, or tacit correspondence between state and state, I do not see how they can be justified. Such were the wars undertaken by the *Romans* for the liberty of *Greece*: Such, those of the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians*, to set up, or destroy the powers of democracies: such are the wars made sometimes by states, or princes, under pretence of protecting the subjects of others, and delivering them from tyranny and oppression, &c. Let it suffice upon this head, “that no state can expect
“to be great, that is not instantly awake
“upon any just occasion of arming.”

No body, whether natural or politic, can preserve its health without exercise: and to a kingdom or state, a just and honourable war is instead of wholesome exercise. A civil war, indeed, is like the heat of a fever; but a foreign war is like heat from motion, which conduces much to health: for in a slothful, drowsy peace, both the courage grows effeminate, and the manners corrupt. But however it may conduce to
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happiness,

happiness, it unquestionably makes for greatness, that a state be still under arms. And a veteran army, always on foot, though it be chargeable to a state, is that which gives the law, or at least reputation amongst all neighbouring states; as is in a remarkable manner seen in *Spain*, which has kept up, in one part or other, a veteran army for more than a century.

THE command of the sea is an epitome of monarchy. *Cicero* writing to *Atticus* of *Pompey's* preparation against *Cæsar*, says, “*Pompey's* counsel is truly *Themisto-* “*clean*; for he thinks whoever is master of “the sea, is master of the world.” And without doubt *Pompey* had tired out, and broke the heart of *Cæsar*, if, upon vain confidence, he had not left that pursuit. We see the great effects of battles by sea, in many examples. The battle of *Actium* decided the empire of the world: the battle of *Lepanto* put a ring in the nose of the *Turk*. Certainly it has often fallen out, that victories by sea have been final to the war; but this has been, when the fortune of the whole war was put upon such battles. But thus much

is certain, he that commands the sea is at great liberty, and can take as much, and as little of the war as he will : whereas, on the contrary, he that is strongest by land, is oftentimes nevertheless in great straits. But at this day, and with us in *Europe*, naval strength, which is the dower of this kingdom of *Britain*, is of great moment towards sovereignty ; both because most of the kingdoms of *Europe* are not merely in-land, but partly furrounded with the sea ; and because the treasures and wealth of both *Indies* are a kind of appurtenance to the command of the seas.

MODERN wars seem to be made in the dark, in comparison with the glory and various lustre which reflected upon military men in antient times from warlike atchievements. We have at present, for encouragement, some honourable degrees, and orders of chivalry ; which nevertheless are conferred promiscuously upon soldiers, and no soldiers. We have also a few pedigrees upon family escutcheons : likewise, some public hospitals for discharged and maimed soldiers. But among the ancients, the trophies erected
upon

upon the place of victory ; the funeral orations, and stately monuments for those that died in war ; the civic crowns and personal ornaments ; the stile of emperor, which the greatest kings afterwards borrowed of the commanders in war ; the celebrated triumphs of the generals upon their return, after the wars were successfully ended ; the vast donations and distributions among the soldiers, on the disbanding of armies : these, I say, were things so many, so great, and of such glorious lustre, as were able to fire the most frozen breasts, and inflame them to war. But, above all, that of the triumph, amongst the *Romans*, was not a matter of pomp, or vain pageantry, but one of the wisest and noblest institutions that ever was founded : for it contained in it these three things ; honour and glory to the general, riches to the treasury out of the spoil, and donatives to the army. But the honour of triumph perhaps was not fit for monarchies, except in the person of the king himself, or of the king's sons ; which, in the time of the emperors, was usual at *Rome* ; who appropriated the actual triumphs to themselves and their sons, for such wars

as they had atchieved in person; and indulged only triumphal garments, and ensigns to the other commanders.

BUT to conclude this discourse; there is no man (as the holy Scripture testifies) that by "taking care can add one cubit to his stature;" that is to say, in this little model of man's body: but in the great frame of Kingdoms, and Commonwealths, it is in the power of princes and states to enlarge their Kingdoms and extend their bounds. For by introducing such laws, constitutions, and customs, as we have now suggested, and others of like nature with these, they may sow greatness to their posterity, and future ages. But these counsels are seldom considered by princes, as the matter is commonly left to take its chance.

OF PLANTATIONS.

PLANTATIONS are eminent among antient and heroical works. The world, in its first ages, was much more prolific than in the present ; for I may well reckon new colonies to be the children of former nations. I like a plantation in a pure foil ; I mean, where one people is not exterminated for the transplanting another. Where this is done, it is plainly an extirpation, not a plantation.

PLANTING of countries is like that of woods : wherein you must expect to lose almost twenty years profit, but they will produce a recompense in the end : for the principal thing, that has been the destruction of most Plantations, (which otherwise would have succeeded well) is that fordid and hasty drawing of profit in the first years. It is true, a speedy harvest is not to be neglected, as far as may consist with the good of the Plantation, but no further.

IT is a very impolitic and shameful thing, to take the scum of the people, banished and condemned men, to be the seminary of a Plantation ; as it certainly must be destructive to its prosperity : for such profligate fellows will ever live like vagabonds, without industry ; and giving themselves up to laziness, consume victuals, commit villanies, be quickly weary, and then transmit accounts to their country, tending to the prejudice and discredit of the plantation.

LET the people wherewith you plant, be artificers, such as gardeners, ploughmen, labourers, smiths, carpenters, joiners, fishermen, fowlers, surgeons, apothecaries, cooks, bakers, brewers, &c.

IN the country where you intend to plant, first examine what kind of eatables and drinkables the country yields of itself without culture : as chesnuts, wall-nuts, pine-apples, olives, dates, plumbs, cherries, wild-honey, and such like ; and make use of them as is necessary. Then consider, what kind of esculent things the soil may produce speedily within the year : as parsnips, carrots,

rots, cabbages, onions, radishes, cucumbers, artichokes of *Jerusalem*, melons, maize, and the like.

As for wheat, barley, and oats, they require too much labour: but with peas and beans you may begin; because they both take less labour, and serve for meat as well as bread. Rice likewise is very productive, and is a kind of meat also. Above all, there ought to be transported good store of biscuit, oat-meal, flour, meal of all sorts, &c. that they may be at hand in the beginning, till bread may be had.

For beasts and birds, take such as are least subject to diseases, and multiply fastest: as swine, goats, cocks, hens, turkies, geese, house-doves, conies, &c.

FISHING should be especially considered, both for the support of the colony, and gain of exportation. The victuals in Plantations ought to be expended with as sparing a hand almost as in a besieged town; that is, with a certain allowance: and let the main part of the ground converted to gardens
or

or corn, be assigned to public granaries, wherein the fruits may be stored up, and delivered out in proportion; yet so as that some spots of ground may be reserved for particular persons to exercise their industry upon.

CONSIDER likewise, what commodities the country does naturally produce, that the exportation into places where they are much valued, may help to defray the charges of the Plantation, as it has happened with tobacco in *Virginia*, so it is not to the untimely prejudice of the Plantation itself. Wood in desert countries commonly abounds; and therefore timber, that is fit for houses, ships, and such-like uses, may be reckoned one of the principal commodities. If there is a vein of iron, and streams whereon to set iron mills, that is a rich commodity in woody countries. Making of bay-salt in the heat of the sun, if the climate be proper for it, would be a thing worth trying.

GROWING silk likewise, is a proper commodity. Pitch of all sorts, where there are store of firs, and pines, will not fail. So
drugs,

drugs, and sweet woods, where they are, yield great profit. Soap-ashes will be very lucrative, and other things that may be enquired after. But work not too much under ground, especially in the beginning; for mines are fallacious and expensive; and feeding the planters with great expectations, makes them lazy in other things.

LET the government of the Plantation be put into the hands of one person, but assisted with counsel: and let them have commission to exercise martial law, but with some limitation. And above all, let men make this advantage of living in the wilderness; to have God always, and his service, before their eyes.

AGAIN, let not the colony depend upon too many counsellors and managers, (residing, I mean, in the country that planteth) but upon a moderate number; and let those be rather noblemen and gentlemen, than merchants, for the latter are too greedy of present gain. Let there be an absolute freedom from duties, till the Plantation is grown strong: and not only freedom from
duties

duties, but a liberty also to export their commodities into what parts they please; unless there are some weighty reasons to the contrary.

Do not over-charge the Plantation by crowding in people, and sending too fast company after company: but rather hearken to a diligent information, how they die from time to time, and send supplies proportionably; yet so as that the colony may live well, and not be afflicted with poverty.

It has been a great detriment to the health of Plantations, their buildings being near the sea and rivers, in marshy and unwholesome grounds. Therefore, though you begin in such places, for the convenience of carriage, and other things, yet by degrees ascend to the upper parts of the country, that are at some distance from the water-side.

It is of moment likewise to the health of the Plantation, that they have good store of salt with them, to season their meat with, which otherwise would probably corrupt.

IF

If you plant where savages are, do not win them with trifles only, and gewgaws, but oblige them by just and mild usage, yet without abating any necessary guard; and do not court their favour by helping them to invade their enemies, but lend them aid for their defence. It is of use, likewise, to send often some of the natives over to the country from whence the colony came, that they may see there a much better condition than their own, and publish it to their countrymen when they return.

WHEN the plantation is grown to some strength, it will be seasonable to introduce women for increase, that the plantation may propagate and spread into generations from itself, and not be ever depending upon foreign supplies.

It is the most wicked thing in the world to forsake and abandon a plantation once in forwardness; for, besides the dishonour, it is no other than mere treachery, and a merciless effusion of the blood of many miserable creatures.

OF

O F R I C H E S.

I CANNOT call riches by a more proper name, than to style them the baggage of virtue. For as the baggage is to an army, so are riches to virtue. They are necessary, but an incumbrance; nay, and the care of them loses or disturbs the victory. Of great riches there is no use, but in the expending of them; the rest is but vanity. *Solomon* says the same thing: "Where much is, there are many to consume it; and what hath the owner but the sight of it with his eyes?" The possession of riches gives the master no sensible pleasure. They no doubt give a man consequence, and enable him to live in splendour and pride, but as they alleviate the wants of others, there is no solid use of them in themselves. Do you not see what feigned prices are set upon jewels, and such like rarities; and what empty works are undertaken, out of mere ostentation, that there may seem to be some use in having great riches? But a person
will

will say, that the use of them is seen in this especially; the redeeming their owners out of dangers and calamities, as *Solomon* says; "The substance of the rich is his stronghold, and as a high wall in his imagination. But he likewise cautiously says, that they are so in imagination, not in reality. For more men, doubtless, have been sold by their riches, than bought off.

SEEK not to raise great riches, but such as you may get justly, use soberly, distribute cheerfully, and leave contentedly. Yet entertain no monkish contempt of them, but distinguish as to their use; as *Cicero* says excellently well of *Rabirius Posthumus*: *In studio rei amplificandæ, apparebat, non avaritiæ prædam, sed instrumentum bonitatis, quæri.* Hearken also to *Solomon*, and do not set your heart upon accumulating riches too hastily: *Qui festinat ad divitias, non erit insons.* The poets feign that *Plutus*, which signifies riches, when he is sent from *Jupiter*, limps, and goes slowly; but when he is sent from *Pluto*, he runs, and is swift of foot: observing, that riches got by good means, and just labour, advance slowly; but

but when they come by the death of others, as by the course of inheritance, or bequests, they come tumbling upon a man. This fable might as well be understood likewise of *Pluto*, taking him for the devil. For, when riches flow from the devil, as by fraud, oppression, injustice, and wickedness, they come with a violent course.

THE ways to grow rich are various, and most of them foul. Parsimony may be reckoned one of the best, and yet even that is not altogether innocent; for it cuts short the works of liberality and charity. The improvement of the ground seems to be the most natural way to riches, as being the blessing of our great mother the earth; but this way is slow. And yet where men of eminent wealth stoop to husbandry, and country gains, they grow immensely rich.

I KNEW a nobleman of *England*, that had the greatest revenues from country affairs, of any subject in my time. He was rich in herds, sheep, woods, as well copses as those of a larger kind, coals, corn, lead and iron-mines, and a number of the like productions

tions of husbandry ; so that the earth was to him as a sea, perpetually importing commodities.

It was rightly observed by one, " That he came with great pains to a small estate, " and to a great one with scarcely any." For when a man's stock of money is encreased so that he can wait the advantages of fairs and markets, and can surmount these bargains, which, because of the greatness of the sum, very few men can reach, and partake likewise in other mens labours that do not abound in money, he must naturally grow exceeding rich.

THE gains of ordinary trades and professions are undoubtedly honest, and are forwarded by two things chiefly ; diligence, and a good name for honest and fair dealing.

BUT the gains accruing from considerable contracts are of a more doubtful nature ; namely, when a man lies in wait for, and watches the necessities and straits of other people ; bribes other men's servants and

managers, to the prejudice of their masters; artificially and cunningly puts off other men, that would, perhaps, have consented to give more; with such other fraudulent practices, which are all culpable. When a man buys, with a design not to hold, but to sell again, they commonly grind both ways, as well upon the feller as buyer. Partnerships enrich greatly, if the persons are well chosen with whom we engage. Usury is one of the most certain means of gain, though one of the worst; as that, whereby a man eats his bread in the sweat of another's brow; besides, it ceases not to plough upon Sundays. But yet, though it is certain, it has its flaws; for scriveners and brokers † will sometimes extol men of doubtful fortunes, for their own advantage.

THE good fortune of being the first in some new invention, or privilege, does sometimes cause an overflow of wealth; as it was with the first sugar-baker in the Ca-

† *In the original English,* do value unsound men, to serve their own turn.

naries. If a man can play the true logician, and has judgment as well as invention, doubtless he may do great matters, especially if the times are favourable.

HE that depends wholly upon certain gains, will seldom rise to great riches : on the other hand, he that hazards all upon adventures, will seldom escape breaking, and coming to nothing. It is good therefore to guard adventures with certainties, so as to uphold losses.

MONOPOLIES, for resale, where they are not restrained by law, are a ready way to riches, especially if the party can foresee what commodities are likely to be in demand, and stocks himself well with them beforehand.

THE acquiring riches by the service of kings, and great persons, carries a kind of dignity with it ; yet when they are got by flattery and servile artifices, and bending to every nod, it may be reckoned one of the worst ways. As for fishing to obtain testaments and executorships, as *Tacitus* charges

Seneca; Testamenta & orbos tanquam indagine capi; it is yet worse, as the persons we have to deal with are meaner than in royal service.

Do not believe them who appear to despise riches; for they despise them that despair of them; and none are more clofely fifted when in poffeffion.

BE not penny-wife; riches have wings, and fometimes they fly away of themfelves; fometimes they muft be fet flying to bring in more. Men when they die, leave their riches either to a public ufe, or to their children, kindred, and friends. In both cafes, moderate legacies prosper beft. Great riches left to an heir, are a lure to all the birds of prey round about to fly to, unlefs the heir be well eftablifhed in years and judgment. Likewise glorious and fplendid foundations to public ufes, are like facrifices without falt, and but the whited fepulchres of alms, which will foon putrify, and corrupt inwardly. Therefore meafure not your gifts by quantity, but by ufefulness; reduce them to a due meafure, and defer not charities till death. For, if a man weigh it
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rightly,

rightly, he that does so, is rather liberal of another man's, than of his own.

OF PROPHECIES.

IT is not my intention to speak of divine prophecies, of heathen oracles, or of natural predictions; but only of prophecies that have been authenticated, and from hidden causes. Saith the *Pythonissa* to *Saul*, "To-morrow thou and thy son shall be with me." *Virgil* hath these verses, *Æn.* iii. 97.

*Hic domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris,
Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis:*

A PROPHECY it seems of the *Roman* empire. *Seneca*, the tragedian, hath these verses:

———*Venient anpis*
Secula feris, quibus oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, & ingens
Pateat tellus, Tiphysque novos
Detegat orbes; nec sit terris
Ultima Thule:

A prophecy of the discovery of *America*.

THE daughter of *Polycrates* dreamed that *Jupiter* bathed her father, and *Apollo* anointed him; and it came to pass, that he was crucified in an open place, where the sun made his body run with sweat, and the rain washed it. *Philip* of *Macedon* dreamed, he sealed up his wife's belly; from which he concluded, that his wife should be barren: but *Aristander* the soothsayer told him, his wife was with child, because men are not wont to seal vessels that are empty. A phantom that appeared to *M. Brutus* in his tent, said to him, *Philippis iterum me videbis*. *Tiberius* said to *Galba*, *Tu quoque Galba degustabis imperium*.

IN *Vespasian's* time there was a prophecy in the *East*, "That those that should come forth of *Judea*, should reign over the
 " world;"

“ world ;” which though perhaps was meant of our Saviour, yet *Tacitus* expounds it of *Vespasian*. *Domitian* dreamed the night before he was slain, that a golden head was growing out of the nape of his neck ; and indeed the succession that followed him, for many years, made golden times.

HENRY the Sixth of *England* said of *Henry* the Seventh, when he was a lad, and gave him water ; “ This is the lad that shall enjoy the crown for which we strive.”

WHEN I was in *France*, I heard from one *Dr. Pena*, that the Queen-mother, who was given to curious arts, caused the day of her husband’s nativity to be calculated, under a false name, and the astrologer gave a judgment that he should be killed in a duel ; at which the Queen laughed, thinking her husband to be above challenges and duels ; but he was slain upon a course at tilt, the splinters of the staff of *Mongomery* going in at his beaver.

THE trivial prophecy, which I heard
O 4 when

when I was a child, and Queen *Elizabeth* was in the flower of her years, was,

*When Hempe is sponne,
England's done.*

Whereby it was generally conceived, that after the princes had reigned, which had the principal letters of that word *hempe*, which were *Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth*, *England* would fall into utter confusion; but, thanks be to God, this is verified only in the change of the name; for the king's stile is now no more of *England*, but of *Britain*. There was also another prophecy before the year 88, which I do not well understand:

*There shall be seen upon a day,
Between the Baugh and the May,
The black fleet of Norway.
When that is come and gone,
England build houses of lime and stone,
For after wars shall you have none.*

It was generally conceived to be meant of the *Spanish* fleet, that came in 88; for the king of *Spain*'s surname, as they say, is *Norway*. The prediction of *Regiomontanus*,

Octogessimus octavus mirabilis annus;

was

was thought likewise accomplished, in the sending of that fleet, being the greatest in strength, though not in number, that ever swam upon the sea.

As for *Cleon's* dream, that he was devoured by a long dragon; I think it a jest; but it was expounded of a maker of saufages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are numbers of the like kind; especially if you include dreams, and predictions of astrology. But I have only set down these few of credit, for example.

My judgment is, that they ought all to be despised as to belief, and ought to serve but for winter talk by the fire-side; for otherwise, the spreading or publishing of them is by no means to be despised, as they have done great mischief, and I see many severe laws made to suppress them.

WHAT has given them grace, and some credit, consists in three things: First, that men mark them when they hit, and never mark when they miss; as they also do generally

nerally of dreams. The second is, that probable conjectures, or obscure traditions, oftentimes turn themselves into prophecies, while the nature of man, which covets divination, thinks it no hazard to foretel, that which indeed they do but collect. As that of *Seneca's* verse; for so much was then subject to demonstration, that the globe of the earth had great extent beyond the *Atlantic*, which might be probably conceived not to be all sea; and adding thereto the tradition in *Plato's Timeus*, and his *Atlanticus*, it might encourage one to turn it to a prediction. The third and last, which is the great one, is, that almost all of them, being infinite in number, have been impostures, and by idle and crafty brains, merely contrived and feigned, after the event past,

OF

OF AMBITION.

AMBITION is like choler ; which is a humour that makes men active, earnest, cheerful, and stirring, if it meets with no obstruction ; but if it be stopped, so as not to have a free course, it becomes malign and venomous. In like manner, ambitious men, if they find no repulse in their pursuit of honours, but are still getting forward, are rather busy than dangerous ; but if they are checked in their desires, and often disappointed, they harbour ill-will and envy in their hearts, and look upon men and things with an evil eye, and are inwardly delighted, when affairs do not succeed ; which is the worst property in a servant of a prince or state. Therefore, when princes must employ ambitious men, they should endeavour to gradually advance, and prevent a sudden declension of their honour. Which because it cannot be without inconvenience, it were better not to use such natures at all ; for if they rise not together with their service,

vice, they will take care to make their service fall with them. But since we have observed it were best not to employ ambitious men, except it be upon necessity, it will be worth while to speak, in what cases they are of necessity.

Good commanders and generals in war must by all means be taken, be they never so ambitious; for their usefulness, in being set at the head, compensates for the rest; and to chuse a soldier without ambition, is to pull off his spurs. There is another use also of ambitious men, in being screens to princes against peril and envy; for no man will take that part upon him, unless he be like a dove hoodwinked, that continues mounting, only because he cannot see about him. There is another considerable use also of ambitious men, in clipping the wings of those that overtop, and pulling down their greatness; as *Tiberius* made use of *Macro* to overthrow *Sejanus*.

SINCE, therefore, they are necessary in the cases mentioned, it remains to shew, how they are to be bridled and restrained,
that

that they may be the less dangerous. There is less danger, if they are of mean birth, than if they are noble; and of a nature somewhat harsh and austere, than if gracious and popular; and lastly, if they are newly raised, they are less dangerous than if they are grown cunning, and fortified in their greatness. It is generally counted a weakness in princes to have favourites and bosom friends; yet, to speak the truth, there is no better remedy against the excessive greatness of nobles, and ministers; for when the power of pleasing or displeasing lies in the favourite, it is hardly possible that any other should be over-great.

ANOTHER good way to curb ambitious men, is to balance them by others equally proud and ambitious. But then there should be some moderate counsellors to interpose, and keep things even before them; for without that ballast the ship will roll too much. At least princes may encourage, and animate some persons of meaner condition, to be scourges to ambitious men. As for creating an opinion in the minds of ambitious men, that they are upon the brink of ruin, and to keep them in awe that way, if they
are

are of fearful natures it may do well ; but if they are stout and daring, it will precipitate their designs and machinations, and may prove of dangerous consequence. If there be a necessity of pulling them down, and that it is not safe to do it all at once, the only way is, a continual interchange of favours and disgraces, whereby they may be amazed and confounded, not knowing what to expect.

THE ambition to prevail in great enterprises is less hurtful than that of intermeddling in every thing ; for the last breeds confusion, and is the ruin of business. But yet there is less danger from an ambitious man active in business, than great and powerful in interest and dependencies. He that makes it his business to be eminent amongst stirring and able men, undertakes a very great task, but which is ever good for the public ; but he that plots, to keep down men of understanding, and to be the only figure amongst cyphers, is the bane and calamity of an age.

HONOUR

HONOUR is attended with three remarkable advantages ; a power to oblige, an easy approach to princes, and the raising of a man's own fortune. He that has the best of these three intentions, when he aspires, is an honest man ; and the prince that can discern, and distinguish such intentions in his servants, is a wise prince. But, in general, princes and states should chuse such ministers, as are led more by duty than ambition ; and such as embrace and love business rather upon conscience than ostentation. In short, let princes judiciously distinguish between busy natures, that will be meddling in every thing, and a willing or chearful mind.

OF

OF NATURAL DISPOSITIONS.

NATURE is often hid, frequently overcome, seldom extinguished. Force makes nature more impetuous in the return; doctrine and precepts render the effects of it less importunate, but do not entirely remove them: it is custom only which perfectly changes, and subdues nature. He that desires a conquest over his nature, let him neither set himself too great, nor too small tasks: for the first will deject him, from frequent failures in the execution; and the second will not forward him much, though he should often prevail. In the beginning, let him practise with helps, as young swimmers do with bladders or rushes; and afterwards with disadvantages, as dancers are wont who use thick shoes. For it breeds perfection in any thing, if the practice be harder than usual.

• WHERE nature is very powerful, and therefore the victory hard, it will be necessary

fary to proceed by certain degrees. First, to stop nature for some time ; like him, who, when he was angry, used to say over the letters of the alphabet, before he gave it vent. Secondly, to moderate nature, and bring her down to smaller portions ; as if a man, in forbearing wine, should come from large draughts to lesser : and lastly to subdue nature, and extinguish it altogether. But if a man has so much strength of mind and resolution as to be able to disengage and emancipate himself all at once, that is best.

*Optimas ille animi vindex, lædentiæ pectus
Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel.*

NEITHER is the antient rule to be rejected ; to bend nature, like a rod, to the contrary extreme, that it may come strait at last : provided the other extreme does not lead to vice. But sing not a song of triumph for victory over nature too soon ; for nature will lie buried a long time, and yet revive upon occasion ; as it was with *Æsop's* damsel, turned from a cat into a woman, who sat very demurely at the table, till a

mouse happened to run before her. Therefore either avoid such occasions altogether, or accustom yourself frequently to them, that you may be the less affected by them. Every man's natural disposition is best perceived in familiar converse, for here there is no affectation: in passions; for they utterly cast off all precepts and rules; and finally, in any new and unusual case, for there custom leaves him. I may call them happy men whose natural dispositions correspond with their vocations. Whatever studies you find your nature averse to, set yourself stated times to cultivate them: but if they suit your genius, you need not trouble yourself about set hours; for your thoughts will spontaneously have recourse to them, when other business and studies will permit. Every man's nature, from an inherent faculty, produces either good or bad herbs: therefore let him diligently and seasonably water the one, and root up the other.

OF CUSTOM AND EDUCATION.

MENS thoughts are commonly according to their inclinations: their discourse according to their learning, and the opinions they have imbibed: but their actions hold on, are certain, and determined by custom. And therefore, as *Machiavel* well observes (though in a shocking instance) there is no trusting either to the violence of nature, or to the bravery of words; unless they be corroborated by custom. His instance is this: that for the atchieving of some desperate and cruel act, a man should not rest upon the fierceness of any person's nature, or his resolute promises, much less oaths; but that the villainy should be committed to such as have had their hands formerly in blood. But *Machiavel* knew nothing of a *Friar Clement*, nor a *Ravillac*, nor a *Jau-regny*, nor a *Baltazar Gerard*, nor a *Guido Faux*. Yet his rule holds good, that neither nature, nor resolution of engagement, are of equal force with custom. In all other things, the

predominancy of custom is very manifest; inasmuch as it is wonderful to hear what professions, protestations, promises, and great words men will make; and yet deviate from them all, like machines and engines, perfectly inanimate, and only actuated by the springs of custom. We see also the tyranny of custom in many other things. The *Indians* lay themselves quietly upon a pile of wood, and so sacrifice themselves by fire. Nay, the women are in haste to be thrown upon the funeral pile with their husbands. The lads of *Sparta*, of antient time, used to bear scourging round the altar of *Diana* without a groan. I remember in the beginning of queen *Elizabeth's* time, an *Irish* rebel that was condemned, put up a petition to the deputy, that he might be hanged in a withe, and not in a halter; because that had been more usual with rebels. There are monks found in *Russia*, that, to compleat their penance, will not refuse to sit a whole winter-night in a vessel of water, till they are frozen. In short, a world of examples may be brought, of the force of custom, even to amazement, as well upon the mind as body. Therefore, since custom is the principal

capital moderator of man's life, let us by all means take care to ingraft good customs. Custom is certainly most strong, when it begins with childhood: this we call education; which is nothing else but a custom imbibed from tender years. So we see, that in learning languages, the tongue itself is more pliant to all expressions and sounds; the joints also more nimble and supple to all postures and motions, in childhood or youth, than afterwards. For it is most certain, that late learners do not so well take a new bias: except men whose minds are not yet fixed, and that have kept themselves open and prepared for all sorts of learning, to the end that they may receive continual improvement; but this is exceeding rare.

BUT if the force of custom, when simple and separate is so great, combined with others it must acquire additional strength: for there example teaches, company relieves, emulation quickens, glory animates: so that in such circumstances, the force and influence of custom is, in its exaltation. Certainly, the great multiplication of human virtues upon

human nature depends upon societies well ordered and disciplined ; for well-administered commonwealths, and good laws, nourish virtue in the bud, but do not much amend the seeds of it. The world has this unhappiness, that the most effectual means are sometimes applied to the ends least to be desired.

OF FORTUNE.

IT cannot be denied, but outward accidents have a great power in raising or sinking a man's fortune : the favour of the great, opportunity, death of others, occasion suiting a man's peculiar talent : but chiefly the mould of a man's fortune is in his own hands. *Faber quisquæ fortunæ suæ*, saith the comedian. And the most frequent of external causes is, that the folly of one man is the fortune of another. For no man rises so suddenly as by the occasion of another's errors ; according to the adage,

“ A fer-

“ A serpent, till he has devoured a serpent,
“ becomes not a dragon.”

OPEN, and apparent virtues bring forth praise ; but those are secret and hidden virtues that bring forth fortune. Certain powers of accommodating themselves to circumstances without embarrassment ; a character best expressed by the *Spanish* word, *desemboltura* : when there are no impediments in a man's nature, but that the movement of his mind keeps pace with the wheels of his fortune. For *Livy*, after he had described *Cato Major* in these words ; “ This man
“ had such a strength of body and mind,
“ that wherever he had been born, he seems
“ to have been one that would have made
“ his own fortune ;” adds expressly, that he had “ a versatile genius.” Therefore, if a man look sharply, he will see fortune ; for though she is blind, yet she is not invisible. The way of fortune is like the milky way in the sky, which is a cluster of a great many small stars, invisible asunder, but illustrious all together. So are there a number of small and scarce discernible virtues, or rather faculties and customs, that render

men fortunate. The *Italians* note some of them, such as a man would little think: when they speak of one whose good fortune they would insure, they throw into his other qualities, that he hath *Poco de matta*. And certainly there are not to be found two more fortunate properties, than to have a little of the fool, and not too much of the honest. Therefore extreme lovers of their country, or princes, were never fortunate, nor indeed can they be; for when a man's thoughts have no reference to himself, he cannot well go his own way.

A HASTY fortune makes the rash and enterprising; but fortune exercised by severe trials makes the prudent and able man.

CERTAINLY, fortune is to be honoured and respected, if it be but for her daughters, Confidence and Reputation; for these two success produces; the first within a man's self, the latter, in others towards him.

ALL wise men, to keep off the envy of their own virtues, are wont to ascribe all to Providence and fortune; for so they may
assume

assume them with better grace. And besides, it adds a kind of majesty to a man, to be the care of the higher powers. So *Cæsar*, to encourage the pilot in a tempest, said, "Thou carriest *Cæsar* and his fortune." Thus *Sylla* chose the name of Happy, and not of Great.

AND it has been observed, That those who have professedly ascribed too much to their own wisdom and policy, have ended unfortunate. It is related of *Timotheus*, the *Athenian*, that after he had, in the account he gave to the state of his government, inserted this clause; "And in this, fortune had no part;" he never prospered in any thing he undertook afterwards.

THERE are those, whose fortune is like *Homer's* verses, which have a smoothness and ease beyond those of other poets; as *Plutarch* says of *Timoleon's* fortune, in comparison with that of *Agésilas*, or *Epaminondas*. And to bring this about, it doubtless lies very much in a man's own power.

O F U S U R Y.

MANY invectives are justly thrown out against usurers. They say, it is a pity the devil should invade God's part, which is the tithe. That the usurer is the greatest sabbath-breaker; for that his plough goes upon Sundays. That the usurer is the drone that *Virgil* speaks of:

——— *Agmine facto*
Ignarum fucos pecus a præsepibus arcent:

“ All, with united force, combine to drive
“ The lazy drones from the laborious hive.”

D R Y D E N.

THAT the usurer breaks the first law that was made after the fall; which was, “ in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread;” and not, “ in the sweat of another's face.” That it is a thing contrary to nature, for money to beget money; but I say this only, “ that usury is one of the things that is allowed, because of the hardness of our heart.” For since there

is a necessity of borrowing and lending, and men are so hard of heart that they will not lend freely ; it follows, that usury must be permitted. Some have advanced certain cunning, and suspicious propositions concerning bankers, public exchanges, the discovery of particular mens estates, and such like artifices ; but few have discoursed of usury solidly, and usefully. The best way would be, to set before us the inconveniences and conveniences of usury ; that the good may be estimated, and to take care, lest, while we are carried on to that which is better, we be not intercepted by the way, and fall into that which is worse.

THE inconveniences of usury are these : first, that it lessens the number of merchants : for were it not for this lazy trade of usury, money would not lie still, but would, in a great measure, be employed in commerce, which is the *Vena Porta* to a kingdom to let in wealth. The second, that it impoverishes the merchants ; for as a farmer cannot make such advantage of husbanding his ground, if he sits at a great rent ; so the merchant cannot carry on his trade

trade with ſo much advantage, if he negotiates with money taken up at intereſt. The third inconvenience is a kind of appendix of the other two ; and that is, a leſſening of the public impoſts, and cuſtoms, which ebb and flow in proportion to commerce. The fourth, that it brings the riches of a kingdom or ſtate into a few hands ; for the uſurer dealing on certainty, and others on uncertainty, at the end of the game, moſt of the money will be in his box. And this is to be held for an unfailing maxim, “ That “ a ſtate flouriſhes moſt, when its wealth is “ ſpread, and not hoarded.” The fifth, that it beats down the price of land ; for the employment of money is either merchandizing, or purchaſing ; and uſury way-lays both. The ſixth, that it damps all labours, improvements, and new inventions ; by which money would be circulating, if it were not for this ſlug. The laſt, that it is the canker and ruin of many mens eſtates, which, in proceſs of time, breeds a public poverty.

ON the other ſide, the conveniences of uſury are theſe: Firſt, that however uſury

in some respects may injure trade, yet in some other, it advances it; for it is most certain, that the greatest part of trade is driven by young merchants, with money borrowed at interest; therefore, if the usurer either calls in, or keeps back his money, there will presently ensue a great stagnation of trade. The second is, that if this easy borrowing upon interest did not relieve mens necessities, they would soon be reduced to the utmost straits, as they would be forced to sell their means, be it land or goods, at too low a rate. Usury not only preys gradually upon them, but hasty and bad markets would swallow them quite up. As for mortgaging, or pawning, it will little mend the matter; for either men will not take pawns without use, or if they do, in case payment be not made upon the very day, they will go to the rigour, and keep the forfeiture. I remember a hard-hearted monied man, that lived in the country, used to say, "The devil take this usury, " it keeps us from forfeitures of mortgages and bonds." The third and last is, that it is a vanity to conceive, that there can be easy borrowing without use; nor would it

it be possible to conceive the innumerable inconveniences that would ensue, if those mutual contracts of borrowing and lending were taken away. Therefore to speak of the utter abolishing of usury would be idle, as all States tolerate it at one rate or other.

LET us speak now of the reformation and regulating of usury; that is, how the inconveniences of it may be most avoided, and the conveniences retained. It appears by the ballancing of them, which I have now done, that there are two things to be reconciled. The one, that the teeth of usury be grinded, that it bite not too much; the other, that there be opened a way to invite monied men to lend to the merchants, for the continuing and quickening of trade. And this cannot be done, unless you introduce two several sorts of usury; a less and a greater. For if you reduce usury to only one rate, and that a low one, you will ease the borrower a little; but the merchant will have to seek for money. And further it is to be noted, that the trade of merchandize, being of all the most profitable, may bear usury

usury at a good rate, which other contracts cannot.

To serve both these intentions, the way may be this : let there be two kinds of usury ; the one free and general to all, the other with licence to certain persons only, and in certain places of great merchandize. First, therefore, let usury in general be reduced to five *per cent.* ; and let the rate be proclaimed, that it may be free to all ; and for receiving the same, let the King or State renounce all penalty. This will preserve borrowing from any general stop or difficulty, and will be an ease to infinite borrowers, both in the country and elsewhere. It will in a great measure raise the price of land ; * because the annual value of land here with us in *England*, will exceed that of use reduced to this rate, as much as the annual value of six pounds exceeds that of five only. Finally, this will whet and encourage the industry of men to the making profitable

* *In the original English* : Because land purchased at sixteen years purchase, will yield six in the hundred, and somewhat more ; whereas this rate of interest yields but five.

improve-

improvements ; because many will rather venture in this kind, than take up with five in the hundred, especially having been used to greater profit.

SECONDLY, let there be certain persons licensed to lend to merchants of a certain description, and to none else : and let this be done with the cautions following. Let the rate, even with the merchant himself, be somewhat lower than what he used formerly to pay. By this means, all borrowers, be they merchants or others, will have ease by this reformation. Let the Prince, or State, have some small matter for each licence ; and the rest go to the lender. For if the abatement be but small to the lender, it will not discourage him at all from his trade of usury : for instance, he that took before ten or nine in the hundred, will rather be content with eight in the hundred, than give over his trade, or change certainties for uncertainties. Of these licensed lenders let there be no determinate number ; but yet let them be restrained to certain cities and towns, where merchandize flourishes ; for then they will not have

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an opportunity, under colour of licences, to lend other mens money for their own; nor will the licensed rate of nine or eight swallow up the general usage of five; since no one will chuse to lend his money far off, or to trust it in unknown hands.

If it be objected, that this does, in some measure authorize usury, which was before, in some places, but permissive: the answer is, That it is better to mitigate usury by declaration, than to suffer it to rage by connivance.

OF YOUTH AND AGE.

A MAN that is young in years, may be old in experience, if he has lost no time: but this happens rarely. Generally youth is like the first thought, not so wise as the second; for there is a youth in thought as well as in age: and yet the invention of young men is more lively than that of old; and imaginations flow into their minds brighter and more lively.

NATURES that have much heat, and are actuated by violent desires and perturbations, are not ripe for action, till they have reached the meridian of their age; as we see in *Julius Cæsar*, and *Septimius Severus*. Of the latter of whom it is said, *Juventutem egit, erroribus, imò furoribus, plenam*: and yet he was eminent in the list of emperors. But sedate and composed natures may flourish even in youth. Examples of which are seen in *Augustus Cæsar*, *Cosmus*, duke of *Florence*, and some others. On the other
side,

side, heat and vivacity, if they are found in old age, make an excellent composition for business. Young men are fitter to invent, than to judge; good at execution, rather than counsel; and better qualified to be employed in new projects, than in common ordinary business: for the experience of old men, in things that fall within their compass, directs them; but in new occurrences, it leads them astray. The errors of young men are often the ruin of business; but the errors of old men amount commonly to this, that more might have been done, or sooner. Young men, in the conduct and management of affairs, embrace greater designs than they are able to execute; stir up more than they know how to quiet again; fly to the end without well considering the degrees and means; pursue absurdly certain rules, that they light on by chance; use extreme remedies at first; and, in fine, that which doubles their errors, they will not acknowledge, or retract; like ill-broken horses, that will neither stop nor turn. Men of age object too much; are too long in consulting; fear dangers more than is expedient; waver, and are unsteady by a too

hasty repentance ; and very seldom drive business home to the full period ; contenting themselves with a mediocrity of success. Certainly, it were good in business to compound both ; for it will be good for the present, that the virtues of both ages may correct the defects of each : good for the future, that young men may learn, while men in age govern : and lastly, better for the composing and quieting of external accidents, because authority follows old men, and favour and popularity, youth.

IN morals, youth, perhaps, will have the pre-eminence, as old age, in politics. A certain Rabbi says, “ Your young men “ shall see visions, and your old men shall “ dream dreams ;” from which he infers, that God vouchsafes young men a nearer approach to him than old ; because vision is a clearer and more manifest revelation than a dream : and certainly, the more a man drinks of the world, the more he is intoxicated with it : besides, old age improves rather in the powers of the understanding than in the virtues of the will and affections. There are some who have an over-early ripeness

ripeness and forwardness in their youth, but in the course of years soon fade, and turn insipid. There are, first, such as have brittle wits, the edge of which is soon turned ; such as was *Hermogenes* the rhetorician, whose books are exceedingly subtle, but the author soon after became stupid. A second sort are those, who have some natural faculties, that are more becoming in youth, than age : such as a fluent and luxuriant speech ; which is commended in a young, but not in an old man. Thus *Cicero* says of *Hortensius* : *Idem manebat, neque idem decebat*. The third is of those who take too high a strain at first setting out, and are endued with a magnanimity, above what an advanced age is able to support ; as was *Scipio Africanus*, of whom *Livy* saith : *Ultimæ primis cedebant*.

O F B E A U T Y.

VIRTUE is like a rich jewel, which is best plain set. And certainly virtue shews itself in a body that is comely, though not of delicate features; and that hath rather dignity of presence, than beauty of aspect. Neither is it generally seen, that very beautiful persons are of great talents; as if nature had laboured rather not to err, than to produce any thing excellent. Therefore they are good company, but not of exalted spirits; and study rather accomplishments than virtue. But this holds not always. For *Augustus Cæsar*, *Titus Vespasian*, *Philip le Belle* of France, *Edward the Fourth* of England, *Alcibiades* of Athens, *Ismael the Persian*, were very great men, and, nevertheless, very beautiful.

IN beauty, feature is before complexion; and decent and agreeable motion even before feature. That is the choice and best part of it, which a picture cannot express; nor the
life

life itself, at first sight. There is no excellent beauty, which has not some disproportion in the make.

It is hard to say, whether *Apelles*, or *Albert Durer*, was the greatest trifler: One was for making a person according to geometrical proportions; the other, by taking the best parts out of divers faces, set himself to make one excellent. Such pictures, I think, would please no body, but the painter who made them. Not but I think a painter may make a better face than ever was; but he must do it by a kind of felicity or chance, as a musician that makes an excellent air in music, and not by rule.

A MAN shall see faces, which, if you examine part by part, shall scarce find one that can be approved separately; and yet altogether they are pleasing enough. If it be true, that the principal part of beauty consists in decent motion, certainly it is no wonder, that persons in years should seem sometimes more amiable than younger men; according to that of *Euripides*: *Pulchrorum autumnus pulcher*. For it is impossible that a young

man should observe decency in all things, unless perchance you take in youth itself to supply the place of decency.

BEAUTY is like the summer fruits, which last not long and are easily corrupted; for the most part it ushers in a dissolute youth, and a penitent old age: notwithstanding, if it light well, it makes virtue shine, and vice blush.

OF DEFORMITY.

DEFORMED persons are commonly revenged of Nature: for as she has been unkind to them; so they, on the other hand, are cross to her, being most of them (as the scripture saith) “void of natural affection.”

CERTAINLY, there is a consent between the body and the mind: and where Nature errs in the one, she ventures in the other.

Ubi

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Ubi peccat in uno periclitatur in altero. But because there is in man an election touching the frame of his mind, and a necessity in the frame of his body; the stars of natural inclination are sometimes obscured by the sun of virtue and discipline. Therefore it is good to speak of deformity, not as a sign, which sometimes deceives; but as a cause, which seldom fails of the effect.

WHOEVER has any thing about his person that marks contempt, has a perpetual spur which prompts him to rescue himself from scorn: therefore deformed persons are ever extremely bold: first, in their own defence, as being exposed to scorn: but in process of time by an acquired habit. Deformity whets industry; especially of this kind, to search and pry carefully into the defects and infirmities of others, that they may have something to repay. Further, in their superiors, it quenches suspicion and jealousy towards them; as persons whom they think they may safely despise. And it lays their competitors and emulators asleep; never dreaming of their promotion to honours, till they see them in possession. So
that

that in great wits, deformity opens the way to preferment.

KINGS in antient times (and at the present in some empires) were accustomed to put great trust in eunuchs: for those that are envious towards all, are more faithful and obnoxious to one. Yet they trusted them, rather as good spies and whisperers, than as good magistrates and public ministers. And the reason is much the same in deformed persons. The rule, I before laid down, will apply: deformed persons, if they have spirit, vigorously strive to rescue themselves from scorn and reproach: which must be, either by virtue, or malice: and therefore let it not seem strange to any one, if sometimes they prove excellent persons; as was *Agésilas*, *Zanger*, the son of *Solyman*, *Æsop*, *Gasca*, president of *Peru*: and *Socrates* may likewise go among many others.

OF BUILDING.

HOUSES are built to live in, not to look on: therefore let use be preferred to beauty; except where both may be had. Let us leave the goodly fabrics of houses, that raise admiration, to the enchanted palaces of the poets, who build them with small cost.

HE that builds a fair house in a bad situation commits himself to prison. Now I reckon it a bad scite, not only where the air is unwholesome, but likewise where the air is unequal; as are those houses, which are built indeed upon a rising ground, but environed on all sides, like a theatre, with higher hills; whereby the heat of the sun is pent in, and the wind gathers, as in cavities: so that suddenly, there is as great a diversity of heat and cold, as if you dwelt in several places,

NEITHER

NEITHER is it bad air only that makes the situation uncomfortable, but bad ways, bad markets, and (if you will hearken to *Momus*) bad neighbours. I forbear mentioning many more, as want of water; want of wood for fire and shelter; barrenness of soil, or want of mixture of ground of several natures; want of prospect, of level grounds, and places at some near distance for hunting, hawking, and racing; too near the sea, or too remote; no convenience of navigable rivers, or the inconvenience of the same by their overflowing; too far off from great cities, which may hinder business; or too near them, which swallows up all provisions, and makes every thing dear; where a man has a great estate laid together, and where, on the other side, he is confined and unable to spread his wings: all which particulars I enumerate, not with this design, as if any seat could be free from all these inconveniences, but that as many of them may be avoided as is possible: and if a man have several dwellings, that he vary them, so that what conveniences are wanting in the one, he may find in the other. *Lucullus* answered *Pompey* well, when he saw in one of *Lucullus's*

lus's palaces, his stately galleries, and rooms so large and light, " Doubtless an excellent place for summer, but how do you do in winter ?" *Lucullus* answered, " Why, do you not think me as wise as some birds are, that ever change their abode towards the winter ?"

LET us pass now from the situation of the house, to the house itself; imitating *Cicero* in the orator's art; who wrote books *de oratore*, and one book entitled " The Orator:" the former whereof deliver the precepts of the art, and the latter the perfection. We will therefore describe a princely palace, making a brief model: for it is strange to see now in *Europe* such vast buildings as the *Vatican* and *Escurial*, with some others, and yet scarce a handsome room in them.

THEREFORE I lay down, in the first place, that you can have no perfect palace, except you have two several sides; a side for the banquet, as is spoken of in the book of *Esther*, and a side for the household: the one for feasts, pomp, and magnificence; and the other for dwelling. I design both these sides
to

to be built, not as wings of the house, but as parts of the front; and the same to be uniform without, though severally partitioned within. These sides should be joined together by a lofty and stately tower, in the midst of the front.

As for the side of the banquet, there should be one room only above stairs, and fifty foot high at least; and under it, another room of the same length and breadth, which may conveniently hold all the preparations for feasts and magnificence.

As for the other side, which is the household, I would have it divided chiefly into a hall and chapel, both of them spacious and stately: but these not to go the whole length of the side; but to have at the further end two parlours, a winter and a summer one: and under all these, excepting the chapel, large subterraneous cellars; and likewise privy kitchens, with butteries, pantries, and the like.

As for the tower, I would have it two stories, fifteen foot high each, above the two
wings

wings of the front; and beautiful leads upon the top, railed, with statues interposed: and the same tower to be divided into rooms as shall be thought fit. The stair-case of the turret to be open and spiral, and divided into six steps to each landing, adorned on both sides with statues of wood, gilt, or at least of a brass colour, with a noble landing place at the top. But you must not assign any of the lower rooms to a dining place for servants: otherwise you will have the servants dinner after your own, for the steam of it will come up as in a funnel. And so much for the front. Only I recommend the height of the first stairs to be sixteen feet, which is the height of the lower room.

BEYOND this front, let there be a good court, but three sides of it of a far lower building than the front. And in all the four corners of the court handsome stair-cases, cast into turrets on the outside, and not within the row of buildings; which are not to be of the height of the front, but rather proportionable to the lower building. But let not the lower court be paved with broad square stone; for such pavements
strike

strike a great heat in summer, and much cold in winter : but let there be walks of that stone, on the sides only of the edifice, with the form of a cross in the middle, and with quarters interposed, turfed with grass kept mowed, but not too close.

LET the whole side of the court on the banquet part have stately galleries ; in each of which galleries let there be three or five fine cupolas in the length of it, placed at equal distance : and fine coloured windows of several works. On the household side, chambers of presence, and others of ordinary use, with some bed-chambers. And let all three sides be a double-house, not with thorough lights, but with windows only on one side ; that you may have rooms from the sun, both for forenoon and afternoon. Contrive it also, that you may have rooms both for summer and winter ; shady for summer, warm for winter. You will see sometimes fine houses so full of glass, that one cannot tell where to go to be out of the sun or cold. As for bow-windows, I hold them of great use ; (in cities indeed upright do better, in respect of the uniformity towards the

the street ;) for they are convenient retiring places for conference ; and besides, they keep both the wind and sun off : for that which would strike almost through the whole room, does scarce pass the window. Let them be but few, not exceeding four ; that is, two on each side of the court.

BEYOND this court, let there be another inner court of the same largeness and height, which is to be environed with the garden on the outside, and in the inside beautifully cloistered and arched as high as the first story. On the under-story, towards the garden, let it be turned to a grotto, or place of shade, open or windowed towards the garden only : and let this grotto be level with the floor, not sunk under ground, to avoid all damps : let there be a fountain, or some magnificent work of statues, in the midst of this court, and paved as the other court was. The buildings of this court to be for private lodgings on both sides, and the end for private-galleries. But care must be taken, that one of them be designed for an infirmary, if the prince, or any of the great officers should be sick, with chambers, anti-

chambers, and retiring rooms joining to it. Upon the ground-story a fair gallery, open upon pillars to take the prospect and freshness of the garden. At both corners of the furthest side, by way of return, let there be two delicate or rich cabinets, curiously paved, richly hanged, glazed with crystalline glass, and a rich cupola in the middle, and every other elegance that can be thought of. In the upper-gallery I would have, if the place will afford it, some fountains running in divers places from the wall, with some fine receptacles.

AND thus much for the model of the palace: save that you must have, before you come to the front, three courts: a green court plain, with a wall about it: a second court of the same bigness, but more garnished with the little turrets, or rather embellishments upon the wall: and a third court, to make a square with the front, but not to be built, nor yet inclosed with a naked wall, but inclosed with terraces leaded aloft, and fairly garnished on the three sides; and cloistered on the inside with pillars, and not with arches below. As for the offices, let them

them stand at some distance from the house, with some low covered galleries, to pass from them to the palace itself.

O F G A R D E N S.

GOD Almighty first planted a garden. And indeed of all human pleasures that of a garden is the purest. For it is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man; without which, buildings and palaces are imperfect, and have nothing of nature in them. Further, a man shall see, that when ages advance in civility and politeness, men come to build stately, sooner than to garden finely; as if gardening was the greater perfection.

I LAY it down for a rule, that in the royal ordering of gardens, there ought to be gardens for all the months in the year; in which severally, things that are in season in each month may be produced. For *Decem-*

ber, *January*, and the latter part of *November*, you must chuse such things as are green all winter ; as holly, ivy, bays, juniper, cypress, yews, box, pines, fir-trees, rosemary, lavender, the white, purple, and blue periwinkle ; germander, flags, orange and lemon-trees, myrtle, if they are stoved ; sweet marjoram set near a wall, and towards the sun. There follows, for the latter part of *January* and *February*, the mezarion tree ; the yellow and the grey crocus vernus ; primroses, anemonies, the early tulip, hyacinthus orientalis, chamairis, frettellaria. For *March*, all sorts of violets, especially the single blue, which are the earliest ; the yellow daffodil, the daisy, the almond-tree, the peach-tree ; the cornelian tree ; sweet briar. In *April*, follow the double white violet, the wall and stock gilly-flower, the cowslip, flower-de-luce's, and lilies of all kinds, rosemary-flower, the tulip, the double piony, the pale daffodil, the *French* honey-suckle, the cherry-tree, the damson and plumb trees, the white thorn in leaf, and the lilac tree.

IN *May* and *June*, come pinks of all sorts, especially the blush-pink, roses of all kinds, except of musk, which comes later, honey-suckles, strawberries, bugloss, columbine, the *French* marigold, flos Africanus, cherry-tree, ribes, figs, rasps, vine-flowers, lavender, the sweet satyrion with the white flower, herba muscaria, the lilly of the valleys, and apple-tree.

IN *July*, come gilly-flowers of all varieties, musk roses, and the lime-trees in blossom, early pears and plumbs in fruit, jennetings, codlings. In *August*, come plumbs of all sorts in fruit, pears, apricots, barberries, filberts, musk-melons, monks-hoods of all colours. In *September* come grapes, apples, poppies of all colours, peaches, melo-cotones, nectarines, cornelians, wardens, quinces. In *October* and the beginning of *November*, come services, medlars, bullaces, roses cut or removed to come late, hollyoaks, and such like. These particulars that I have enumerated, suit the climate of *London*; but my meaning is, that you may have elsewhere a perpetual spring, according to the nature of the place.

AND as the odour of flowers is far sweeter in the air (where it comes and goes, like the warbling of music) than in the hand; therefore nothing contributes more to that delight, which the smell of flowers yields, than to know what are the flowers and plants, which, as they grow, most perfume the air. Roses, as well damask, as red, are flowers tenacious of their smell, nor do they tinge the air; so that you may walk by a whole row of them, and find nothing of their sweetness, though it be in a morning dew. Bays likewise yield no smell as they grow: rosemary not much, nor sweet marjoram. That which above all others yields the sweetest smell in the air, is the violet, which comes twice a year, about the middle of *April*, and *September*. Next to that is the musk-rose, then the strawberry-leaves, dying with a most excellent cordial smell. Then the flower of the vines; it is a little dust, like the dust of a bent, which grows upon the cluster in the first coming forth. Then sweet-briar, wall-flowers, which are very delightful to be set under a parlour, or lower chamber window. Pinks and gilly-flowers, especially the matted pink, and clove

clöve gilly-flower. Flowers of the lime-tree. Honey-suckles placed at a distance. Of bean flowers I speak not, because they are field flowers. But those which perfume the air most delightfully, when trodden upon and crushed, are three, burnet, wild thyme, and water-mint. Therefore you must set whole alleys of them, to have the pleasure when you walk and tread.

THE compass of ground for gardens, speaking of those which are indeed princelike, as we have done of buildings, ought not to be under thirty acres, and to be divided into three parts; a green in the entrance, a heath or desert in the end, and the main garden in the midst; besides alleys on both sides. And I like well that four acres of ground be assigned to the green, six to the heath, eight to the side-walks, and twelve to the main garden. The green is luxuriant to the eye, and nothing is more pleasant than green grass kept finely shorn; the other gives you a fair alley in the midst, by which you pass towards the front of a stately hedge, which is to enclose the main garden. But as the alley will be long and

fultry in the great heat of the season; or day, you ought not to buy the shade in the garden, by going in the sun through the green; therefore you are on either side the green to plant a covert alley of carpenters work, about twelve feet in height, by which you may go all the way under shade into the garden.

THE garden is best to be square, encompassed on all the four sides with a stately arched hedge; the arches to be upon pillars of carpenters work, of ten feet high and six feet broad; and the spaces between, of the same dimension with the breadth of the arch. Over the arches let there be an entire hedge, of four feet high, of carpenters' work also, and above this, a little turret upon the top of every arch, with room sufficient to receive a cage of birds; and over every space between the arches some other little figure, with broad plates of round coloured glass gilt, for the sun to play upon. But this hedge I mean to be raised upon a bank, not steep, but gently sloped, of about six feet, set all with flowers. I think also, that this square of the garden should not be the whole breadth of the ground, but
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to leave on each side ground enough for diversity of side-alleys, unto which the two covert-alleys of the green may bring you ; but there must be no alleys with hedges at either end of this great inclosure : not at the hither end, for hindering your prospect upon this fair hedge from the green ; nor at the further end, for hindering your prospect from the hedge through the arches upon the heath.

For ordering the ground within the great hedge, I leave it to variety of device ; advising, that whatever form you cast it into, it be not too curious, or full of work. Images cut out in juniper, or other garden-stuff, I disapprove. They are for children. Little low round hedges, with some pretty pyramids, I like well ; and in some places also columns, and high pyramids, of carpenters work, hedged round. I would also have the alleys spacious. You may have closer alleys upon the side-grounds, but none in the main garden. I would recommend, in the very middle a mount, with three ascents and alleys, wide enough for four to walk abreast, which should be perfect

fect circles, without any bulwarks or projections, and the whole mount thirty feet high, and a fine banqueting house, with chimnies neatly cast, and without too much glafs.

FOUNTAINS, are a great beauty and refreshment; but let pools and fishponds be banished; for they make the garden unwholesome, and full of flies and frogs. Fountains I understand to be of two kinds, the one that sprinkles or spouts water, the other a fair receptacle of water, of thirty or forty feet square, but without fish, slime or mud. For the first, the ornaments of images gilt, or of marble, which are in use, do well; but the chief matter is, so to convey the water, that it can never stay, either in the basons, or in the cistern; so that it is never discoloured, or gathers any moss or putrefaction. Besides it must be cleansed every day by the hand; also some fine steps up to it, and pavement. As for the other kind of fountain, which we call a bathing-place, it may admit much curiosity and beauty; but we shall not trouble ourselves about it, only that the bottom and sides be
finely

finely paved, and embellished with coloured glass, and things of lustre; encompassed with fine rails of low statues. But the chief point is the same which we mentioned in the former kind of fountain, that the water be in perpetual motion, fed by a water higher than the bath, and delivered into it by fair spouts, and discharged under ground by tubes of equal dimension, that it stay not. Fine devices of arching water without spilling, and making it rise in several forms, of feathers, drinking-glasses, canopies, &c. are pretty things to look on, but nothing to health and sweetness.

For the heath, which was the third part of our plot, I wish it to be framed as near as may be to a natural wilderness. I would have no trees in it, but some thickets, made only of sweet-briar and honey suckle, with wild-vine amongst them, and the ground set with violets, strawberries and primroses; for these are sweet, and prosper in the shade. And these to be in the heath, here and there, not in any order. I like also little heaps, in the nature of mole-hills, such as are in wild-heaths, to be set, some with wild-thyme,

thyme, some with pinks, some with germander, which gives a beautiful flower to the eye; some with periwinkle, some with violets, some with strawberries, some with cowslips, some with daizies, some with red roses, some with lillies of the valley, some with red sweet williams, some with bear's foot, &c. Part of which heaps to be with standards of little bushes pricked upon their top, and part without; the standards to be roses, juniper, holly, bear-berries, (these but here and there, because of the smell of their blossom,) red currants, gooseberries, rosemary, bays, sweet-briar, &c. But these standards are to be kept with cutting, that they grow not out of shape.

FOR the side-grounds, you are to distribute them into a variety of private alleys, to give a full shade, wheresoever the sun may be. You are to frame them likewise for shelter, that when the wind blows sharp, you may walk as in a gallery. And those alleys must be likewise hedged at both ends, to keep out the wind. The closer alleys must be gravelled; but no grass, for fear of going wet. In many of these alleys likewise

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you

you are to set fruit-trees of all sorts, as well upon the walls, as in ranges. And this should be generally observed, that the borders wherein you plant your fruit-trees are fair, large, low, and not steep, and set with fine flowers; but thin and sparingly, lest they beguile the trees. At the end of both side-grounds, I would have a mount of a pretty good height, leaving the wall of the inclosure breast-high, to look abroad into the fields.

For the chief garden, I do not deny but there should be some fair alleys ranged on both sides with fruit-trees, and pretty tufts of fruit-trees and arbors, with seats set in some decent order; but these should not be set too thick; but to leave the garden, that it be not close, but the air open and free; as for shade, I would have you content yourself with the alleys of the side-grounds, there to walk, if you are disposed, in the heat of the year or day. For the chief garden is for the more temperate parts of the year, spring and autumn; and in the heat of summer, for the morning and evening, or over-cast days.

FOR

FOR aviaries, I like them not, unless they be of such largeness as to be tufted, to have living plants and bushes set in them, that the birds may have more scope and natural nestling, and that no foulness appear in the floor of the aviary.

THUS I have made a platform of a princely garden, partly by precept, partly by drawing, not an exact model, but some general lines of it : and in this I have spared no cost, which is nothing to great princes, who, for the most part advise with gardeners ; and with no less cost, put together, with little judgment, various things ; and sometimes add statues, and such other things, for state and magnificence, but nothing conducing to the true pleasure and delight of a garden.

OF NEGOTIATING.

IT is generally better to negotiate by speech, than by letters; and by the mediation of a third person, than by a man's self. Letters are good when a man has a mind to draw out an answer by a letter in return; or when it may be of use to a man to produce afterwards copies of his own letters, for his justification; or, when a man has reason to fear, least his speech should be interrupted, or be heard by pieces. On the other hand, it is better to negotiate in person, when a man's face is apt to strike reverence; as it commonly happens in discourse with inferiors; or in tender cases, where a man's eye being fastened upon the countenance of him with whom he speaks, may be a direction to him, how far to go; and generally, where a man has a mind to reserve to himself a liberty of disowning, or explaining.

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IN negotiating by others, it were better to chuse men of a plainer sort, who are like to do any thing which is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the success of it, than those that are cunning to contrive out of other mens business somewhat of honour or advantage to themselves; and that are for softening the matter, in report, in order to please. Use also such persons, who are fond of the business they are set over, for that quickenes their industry; and such as have a kind of aptness to the matter they manage; as bold men for expostulation, fair-spoken men for persuasion, crafty men for observation and narrow inquiry; froward, and men a little absurd, for the transacting of business that has an untowardness and iniquity in it. Use also such as have been lucky, and have prevailed in things wherein you have employed them before; for this breeds confidence, and they will leave no stone unturned to maintain their prescription.

It is better to feel the man's pulse with whom you negotiate, and to sound him at a distance, than to propound the matter point-

point-blank at first; unless you mean to hamper and surprize him by some short question.

It is better negotiating with men in pursuit, than with those who have obtained the ultimate end of their desire. If you negotiate with another upon conditions, the start of first performance is all; but this you cannot reasonably demand, unless the nature of the thing be such as ought to go before; or that you can handsomely insinuate to the other party, that he will have occasion for you in other things; or lastly, that you are counted a man of extraordinary honesty and integrity.

All negotiation tends to work upon the nature of men; who discover themselves either by way of trust, or when they are in passion, and cannot well command themselves; on surprize, or of necessity, when they would have something done, but cannot find a fit pretext. If you would work upon any man, you must either know well his nature, and lead him; or find out his ends, and persuade him; or his weaknesses and disadvantages,

and awe him; or, finally, gain his friends, that have greatest interest in him, and govern him.

IN negotiating with cunning and crafty persons, you must never believe their words, unless you have their ends and intentions to interpret them; but it is best to say little to them, and that which they least look for.

IN all negotiations of difficulty, a man must not expect to sow and reap at once; but must prepare business, and so ripen it by degrees.

OF FOLLOWERS AND FRIENDS.

C**O****S****T****L****I****N****G** followers are by no means to be admitted, lest, while a man makes his train longer, he makes his wings shorter. Now I reckon expensive, not those only that are a charge upon the purse, but such as are importunate and troublesome in their suits and petitions.

C**O****M****M****O****N** followers ought to expect no higher conditions than countenance, recommendation, if there should be occasion, and protection from wrongs.

F**A****C****T****I****O****U****S** followers are still more to be avoided, who apply themselves to a man, not so much out of affection to him whom they attend, as out of displeasure conceived against some other. Whence there commonly follows that misunderstanding which we many times see between great persons.

LIKEWISE, those ostentatious followers, who make it their business to be as trumpets of the praises of those they follow, do abundance of hurt; for they injure business through want of secrecy: besides, if a man considers it well, they export honour from their patron, and make him a return in envy.

THERE are other followers likewise, which are very dangerous, being indeed no better than spies, who make it their study to examine into the secrets of families, and whisper them to others. Yet such men many times are held in great esteem, for they are officious, and commonly exchange tales.

FOLLOWERS subordinate but similar in profession to that of the great person, as soldiers are to him that has had the chief command in the wars, have ever been esteemed a thing civil, and well taken even in monarchies, provided it is done without much pomp and popularity.

BUT the most honourable patronage of all is this; for a man to profess himself a patron

tron of those that are eminent for virtue and merit, of what rank or condition soever they are. And yet, where there is no remarkable odds in point of desert, it is better to patronize the passable middling sort, than those that are more eminent. And besides, to speak truth, in times that are corrupt, active men are of more use than the truly virtuous. Certainly, in government, it is best to treat subjects of the same rank equally; for to countenance a few extraordinarily, is to make them insolent, and the rest discontented; since parity of degree demands, as due, equal conditions of grace. But, on the contrary, in matters of mere favour, to use men with much distinction and choice, is good; for it makes the persons distinguished in kindness more thankful, and the rest more officious: nor can any one justly complain of this, since all is of favour, and not of debt.

It is a good caution, not to make too much of any man at first; for following favours can hardly hold on in the same proportion.

To be governed by any one friend, is not safe; for it shews weakness: besides, it gives

a freedom to scandal and disreputation: for many that would not immediately censure, or speak ill of a man himself, will make no scruple to talk boldly of those that are great with him, and thereby wound his honour. Yet to be under the power of, and to be variously distracted by many, is still worse; for it makes men to be of the last impression, (as they now speak) and full of inconstancy.

To take advice of some few friends, is very honourable, and of great use; "for
" lookers-on many times see more than
" gamesters:" and (as the adage is) "The
" vale best discovereth the hill."

THERE is little friendship in the world, and least of all between equals; which kind was wont to be magnified among the ancients. But this will be found between superior and inferior, whose fortunes may be interwoven with each other.

OF SUITORS.

MANY ill matters and projects are undertaken, and private suits, which do much injury to the public good. Many matters also are undertaken, good in themselves, but with bad minds: I mean not only corrupt, but crafty minds; without any intention of performing the business. There are those, that will take suits in hand, and are forward to offer their service, that never mean to deal effectually in them: but if they see there may be life in the matter through some other person, they themselves will lay claim to thanks; at least will catch at some secondary reward; or, lastly, will turn the hopes of the suitor, whilst the business is in agitation, to their own use.

SOME embrace suits, with an intention only to hinder and throw impediments on other mens business, that is transacting at the same time: or to get some information, for which otherwise they could have no pre-

text, not caring what becomes of the suit, when that turn is served: or generally, to make other peoples business a bridge to their own. Nay, some act so treacherously as to undertake suits with full purpose to abandon them, in order to gratify the competitor, or adverse party.

CERTAINLY, if a man considers it, there goes along with every suit a certain right; either of justice, if it be a suit of controversy, or of merit, if it be a suit of grace and favour. If affection leads a man to favour the wrong side in a judicial cause, let him rather use his authority to compound the matter, than to carry it. If, on the contrary, to favour the less worthy in desert; let him abstain, however, from all calumny, and speaking evil of the more deserving person.

SUITS, that you do not well understand yourself, refer to some trusty and judicious friend; who may report whether they are of such a nature that you may promote them with honour: but that friend must be prudently

dently and scrupulously chosen, otherwise he will abuse your confidence.

SUITORS now-a-days are so disgusted with delays and abuses, that plain-dealing and candour, either in refusing the business at first; in honestly reporting the success thereof, be it what it will; or in claiming no more thanks than one has deserved, is grown a thing not only honourable, but gracious.

To be ignorant of the value of a suit, is simplicity; as carelessly to neglect the right thereof, is want of conscience.

SECRECY in suits is a very likely way to obtain them; for to give out that there are hopes, though it may discourage some kind of competitors, yet will it whet and awaken others. But timing of suits is the chief thing of all; not only in respect of the persons in whose power it is to reject or grant them; but also in respect of those, that may be justly apprehended as likely to cross them. In the choice of the person that you commit the care of your suit to, regard fitness rather than greatness; and rather take one
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that engages in few affairs, than a man that lays hold of all.

A repeated denial is sometimes equivalent to a grant ; provided a man shews himself neither dejected, nor discontented.

“ Ask an unreasonable thing, that you “ may obtain a reasonable one,” is a good rule, where a man is in great favour : for otherwise, it is more adviseable for a man to rise by degrees to the thing he aims at, and he may probably obtain something, at least : for he that would not have scrupled at first to disoblige the suitor, will not, in the conclusion, bear to lose both the suitor and his own former favour at once,

Nothing is thought so easy a request to a great person as his letter ; and yet if it be not in a good cause, it is so much loss of reputation to the writer.

THERE is not a more pernicious sort of people in a state, than those general framers of suits ; for they are a kind of poison and infection to public business.

O F S T U D I E S.

STUDIES, and reading of books, serve either for pleasure of thought, for ornament of discourse, or for assistance in business. Their use, as to pleasure, is chiefly perceived in retirement and leisure : as to ornament of speech, it has place, as well in familiar, as set discourse : and for help in business, it tends to the undertaking and disposing of affairs with more accurate judgment. For men, who are expert in practice, are perhaps fit for the execution of business ; and in particulars judge not amiss : but the general counsels, design and arrangement of affairs, come more happily from those that are learned.

To spend too much time in reading and studies, is a specious kind of sloth ; to abuse the same effeminately for ornament, is mere affectation, which betrays itself ; and to judge of things, according to the rules of art, is altogether the humour of a scholar,
and

and does not in general succeed. Letters perfect nature, and are themselves perfected by experience. For natural abilities are like plants, coming up of themselves, which require culture, and the pruning-hook of art: learning, on the other hand, gives directions too much at large, unless it be bounded by experience. Crafty men despise letters; simple men admire them; and wise men use their help, as much as is convenient; for letters do not sufficiently teach their own use; but a certain prudence distinct from, and superior to them, which is acquired by observation only.

READ not books with a design to contradict, and to engage in disputes; nor yet to take all for granted, or implicitly follow the author; nor, lastly, to set off yourself in discourse; but learn to weigh, and to use in some measure your judgment.

SOME books there are which it is convenient just to taste only; others, that we ought to swallow quickly; and some, lastly, but those are very few, that we should digest: that is, some books are to be looked
into

into only in parts ; others to be read indeed, but in a cursory manner ; and some few to be turned over diligently, and with singular attention. You will meet with many books also, which it may be sufficient to read by others, and to make only extracts of them. But I would have this only done in the meaner sort of arguments, and in less important authors : for otherwise, extracts from books (to use that expression) like those from plants, lose much of their essential spirit.

READING gives a fund of universal knowledge ; disputation and conference, acuteness and eloquence : writing and collecting of notes, imprints what we read in the mind, and fixes it deep. And therefore if a man is careless in noting, he had need have a good memory : if he confers little, he should have a present wit ; and if he reads little, there is nothing left, but to use a kind of artifice, whereby he may seem to know what he does not.

THE reading of history makes men wise ; poets, witty ; the mathematics, subtle ; natural philosophy, deep ; moral, grave ; logic

gic and rhetoric, disputatious and ready in controversy. *Abeunt studia in mores.* Nay, there is scarce found any inbred, or natural impediment in the understanding, but may be amended, and removed by a proper study: as bodily distempers may be eased by proper exercises. Bowling is good for the stone and reins; shooting for the lungs and breast; gentle walking for the stomach; riding for the head, &c. Thus, if any man has a rambling wit, let him study mathematics: for, in mathematical demonstrations, if the mind strays ever so little, he must begin again. If a man's wit is not ready at finding out differences and distinctions, let him betake himself to the school-men; for they are *cumini sectores*. If he wants quickness of wit to range over matters, and cannot with dexterity call up one case to illustrate another, let him turn over the lawyers cases: so every indisposition of the understanding may have its proper remedy from learning.

OF FACTIONS.

MANY have an opinion, by no means found, that a prince, in the government of his state, and a great person in the direction of his affairs, ought especially to regard the factions that prevail; and that this is a principal part of policy: whereas, on the contrary, this ability consists chiefly, either in ordering those things, which belong indifferently to all in general, and wherein men of divers factions do nevertheless agree; or in careffing, winning, and dealing with particular persons one by one. Yet I allow, that a due consideration of parties is not to be neglected. Men of a small fortune, in their advancement, must adhere to some party; but for great men, and such as are in possession of honour, it is more adviseable to keep themselves indifferent and neutral. Yet even, in the case of pursuers, to adhere so moderately, as that a man may be thought of one party, and yet not be odious to the other, is the best way to preferment.

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THE weaker faction is commonly the firmer in their union : and it is often seen, that a few, that are stiff and obstinate, do, in the end, tire out a greater number that are more moderate.

WHEN one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining one subdivides : as the faction of *Lucullus* and the nobles, held out awhile against the faction of *Pompey* and *Cæsar* ; but, when the authority of the senate and the nobles was degraded, *Cæsar* and *Pompey* were soon after disunited. In like manner, the faction of *Antonius* and *Octavianus Cæsar*, against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, held out for some time : but, when *Brutus* and *Cassius* were overthrown, then *Antonius* and *Octavianus*, with their parties, divided. These examples (you will say) relate to factions in war : but the same thing happens in private factions. And therefore those who were at first seconds in factions, do, when the faction split, prove principals : yet they often lose all power : for many a man's strength lies in opposition ; and when that fails, he becomes useless. It is frequently seen, and is worth observing, that many, when they have gained

ed their point, and are in possession of the dignity they courted, take immediately the opposite side, being already sure of the affections of their former partizans, are ready for a new purchase.

THE traitor in faction commonly goes away with the prize; for when matters have hung long in an equal ballance, some one person going over to the contrary side casts the scale, and gets all the thanks. The carrying an even hand between two factions, proceeds not always from moderation, but from a crafty design, (as every man is truest to himself) of making an advantage of both. In *Italy*, they conceive it suspicious in popes, when they have often in their mouth *padre commune*, and take it to be a sign of one that means to refer all to the greatness of his own house.

KINGS should of all things, take care how they make themselves of a party or faction with any of their subjects; for leagues within the state are ever pernicious to monarchies; they raise an obligation paramount to the obligation of sovereignty, and make the

king "as one of us;" which may be seen in the league of *France*.

WHEN factions are carried openly with a high hand, it is a sign of decay of power in princes, and much to the prejudice both of their authority and business. The motions of factions under kings ought to be like those (as the astronomers speak) of the inferior orbs, which may have their proper movement, but yet still are quietly carried round by the higher motion of the *primum mobile*.

OF CIVIL CEREMONIES.

A MAN of veracity only, without the external modes of complaisance, should have a great share of intrinsic merit. As the stone that is plain set should be exceeding rich and pure. But if a man reflects, he will find a similitude in the acquisition of praise and commendation, to that of gain. For the proverb is true, "That light gains
" make

" make heavy purses: for light gains come thick, whereas great ones come but now and then. In like manner it is true, that ordinary accomplishments win great commendation, because they are continually in use: besides, there is constant notice taken of them: whereas, on the other hand, there is but now and then an occasion for the exercise of any great talent. Therefore it contributes much to a man's reputation, and is (as *Isabella of Castile* used to say) " like " perpetual letters commendatory," for a man to have good and decent forms. To attain it almost suffices not to despise, but observe them in the behaviour of others; and for the rest, let him trust to himself: for if he labour too much about them, they lose their grace; which consists chiefly in this, that they seem natural and unaffected. Some men's countenance, gesture, and other behaviour, are like a verse wherein every syllable is measured. How can a man comprehend great, that stoops to such little things.

Not to use decent ceremonies towards others, is to teach them to neglect the same to you; by which you will render yourself

cheap: especially they must not be omitted to those you are not familiar with; nor to formal natures; but excess in them, and a phrase perfectly extravagant (as is usual with some men) is not only nauseous, but also diminishes very much the weight of what is said.

THERE is a kind of artificial insinuation in the very words of complimentary forms, which is wonderfully taking and engaging, if a man can but hit upon it. Among one's equals, a man need not trouble himself about familiarity, that he may be sure of; and therefore it is good to be upon the reserve, and to keep distance a little. Among a man's inferiors, one will be sure of reverence; and therefore it may not be amiss to be a little open and familiar.

HE that over-talks or over-does any thing, so as to tire people, lessens himself. To apply one's self to others, is good; provided it appear at the same time to proceed, not from easiness, but civility and good breeding. It is a good precept, when you go over to another man's opinion, yet always to
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add somewhat of your own. For instance: if you second his motion, let it be with some distinction, and not otherwise. If you consent to his proposition, let it be with some restriction or condition. If you think good to follow and embrace his counsel, let it be with alledging some further reason why you do so.

A man should by all means take care not to be esteemed affectedly courteous in his manner: for, if he is never so sufficient otherwise, his enviers will be sure to give him that title, to the disadvantage of his greater virtues. It is also prejudicial to business, to be too full of forms, or to be too curious in observing times and opportunities. *Solomon* saith, "He that considereth the wind, shall not sow; and he that looketh to the clouds, shall not reap." A wise man will make more opportunities, than he finds. Mens outward behaviour should be like their apparel; not too strait or finical, but perfectly easy, and free for exercise, or motion.

OF PRAISE.

PRAISE is the reflection of virtue. And as it is in looking-glasses, it draws something from the nature of the body that yields the reflection. If it comes from the common people, it is in general a wrong and false reflection; and rather accompanies the vain, than men of true virtue. For a great many virtues that are excellent, are above the capacity of the common people. The lowest virtues draw praise from them; the middle sort strike them with admiration, or astonishment; but of the sublime virtues they have no sense, or notion at all. Appearances of virtue take most with them. Certainly, fame is like a river, that bears up things light and swollen, and drowns what are weighty and solid. Now if men of profound judgment and character, concur with the common people, then it is as the Scripture says: "A good name is like a fragrant ointment;" it fills all the space round, and does not easily go off. For the
odours

odours of ointments are more durable, than those of flowers.

THERE are so many false colours of praise, that it may deservedly be suspected. Some praise proceeds merely from flattery: and if he is an ordinary flatterer, he will make use of certain common qualifications, and such as may serve every man; not studied, or apposite: if a cunning one, he will follow the arch-flatterer close; I mean, yourself; and wherein you have an opinion of yourself, or think you excel, there the flatterer will dwell most: but, if he be an impudent, brazen flatterer, then wheresoever you are most conscious to yourself of your own defect, and what you are most out of countenance at in yourself, that will the flatterer principally entitle you to, and fasten upon you by force, and in spite of conscience.

SOME praise proceeds from a good inclination, accompanied with reverence; which certainly is a form of praise due to kings, and all great personages: *Laudando precipere*: When by laying before them, what they

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are, you humbly put them in mind what they should be.

SOMETIMES men are loaded with praise, with a malicious intention, to stir up envy, and hatred towards them; *pestimum genus inimicorum laudantium*, as is said. It was a proverb amongst the *Greeks*; that, "He that was praised to his hurt, should have a push rise immediately upon his nose." There is a common saying with us, "That a blister will rise upon a man's tongue, that tells a lie." This one may aver, that moderate praise, given seasonably, and having nothing vulgar in it, turns greatly to a man's honour. It is a saying of *Solomon's*, "He that praiseth his friend aloud, rising early, it shall be to him no better than a curse." For to extol either man or matter, to the sky, provokes contradiction and exposes to scorn. It is hardly allowable to praise a man's self, except in very rare cases; but a man may praise his vocation, and the office he bears, or the studies he has addicted himself to, with a good grace; nay, with some kind of magnanimity.

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THE Cardinals of *Rome* have a phrase of the utmost contempt and scorn, towards civil business: for they call all temporal business (as of war, embassies, judicatures, &c.) by the *Spanish* name of *shirrerie*, which signifies Under-sheriffries; as if those arts became under-sheriffs and bailiffs, rather than men in their sublime station. Though (if the matter be rightly weighed) speculative and civil affairs may go well enough together. *St. Paul*, when he boasted of himself, said, "I speak like a fool." But, speaking of his calling, he is not ashamed to say, "I will magnify my apostleship."

OF VAIN-GLORY.

IT was a pretty fiction that *Æsop* used,
 "A fly sitting upon the spoke of a chariot-wheel, said to herself, What a dust do
 "I raise!" Thus there are some vain persons, that, when any thing goes on either
 of itself, or moves upon greater means, if
 they

they have the smallest hand in it, think presently it is they who turn the whole machine.

THEY that are glorious are ever factious, for there is no ostentation without comparing a man's self. They must needs be violent, to the end they may make good their own valour. Neither can they be secret; and therefore they seldom do any thing effectually; according to the *French* proverb, *Beaucoup de bruit, peu de fruit*: "Much bruit, little fruit." Yet doubtless there is sometimes use of this quality in civil affairs. Where there is a fame to be raised, or an opinion to be spread, whether of virtue, or greatness, such men are excellent trumpeters. Again, as *Livy* wisely notes in the case of *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*: "Reciprocal and cross lies are sometimes of great use:" as, when any one negotiates between two princes, to join them in a war against a third; and to effect this, extols the forces of either of them above measure, the one to the other. And sometimes also he that deals between man and man, raise his own credit with both, by insinuating artificially,

cially, that he hath greater interest with either of them, than he really has. In these and the like arts, it often falls out, that something is produced of nothing: for lies are sufficient to breed opinion, and opinion brings on substance.

IN commanders and military men, vain-glory is of use; for as iron sharpens iron, so by glory one courage sharpens and excites another. Moreover, in great actions, which are undertaken at the charge and peril of private men, glorious natures put life into business; for those who are of a sober solid temper, have more of the ballast, than of the sail. In reputation of learning, a man's fame will be slow, and not well-winged, without some plumes of ostentation. "Those
 " that write books of the contempt of glory,
 " put their names to them." *Socrates, Aristotle, Galen*, (great names) were of an ostentatious nature. Certainly, vain-glory helps exceedingly to propagate and perpetuate a man's memory: and virtue itself is not so much beholden to human nature, for the spreading her fame, as to herself. For the fame of *Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus*, had
 scarce

scarce lasted to this day, or at least not so fresh, if it had not been joined with some vanity and boasting in themselves. For boasting seems to be like varnish, that makes wood not only shine, but durable.

BUT, while I am discoursing of vain-glory, I mean not by any means that property, which *Tacitus* attributes to *Mucianus*; “ That he had a singular faculty of setting off to advantage every thing he said or did:” for this proceeds not at all from vanity, but from art and prudence, accompanied with some sort of magnanimity: and in many persons that are, as it were, made for it, it is not only comely, but gracious. For decent excuses, seasonable concessions, nay, and modesty itself well governed, are but arts of ostentation.

AND among those arts, there is none more successful than that which *Plinius Secundus* speaks of, viz. to be liberal of praise and commendation to others, in that for which a man himself is eminent. For he very wittily says, “ In commending another, you serve yourself: for he that you commend,
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“ is either superior to you in what you commend, or inferior. If he be inferior, and yet to be commended, you much more : if he be superior, and yet not to be commended, you much less.”

VAIN-GLORIOUS men are the scorn of wise men, the admiration of fools, and slaves to themselves, and their own vanity.

OF HONOUR AND REPUTATION.

THE true and proper means of acquiring honour and reputation, is this ; for a man to reveal his virtues and abilities handsomely and without disadvantage. For some in their actions are wooers of fame : which sort of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little revered. Others, on the contrary, darken their virtue in the shewing of it ; whence it comes to pass, that they are less esteemed than they deserve.

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IF a man undertakes, and also performs a thing, which had not been attempted before; or attempted, but given over; or brought perhaps to an end, but not so cleverly and happily; he shall gain greater honour than by effecting a matter of greater difficulty and excellence, by imitating, without improving on the original.

IF a man so put together and temper his actions, as in some of them to please all factions and combinations of people, the music will be fuller.

HE is by no means a good husband of his honour, that enters into any action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more, than the carrying it through can honour him. Honour that is comparative, and that eclipses another by its superior brilliancy, has the liveliest reflection; like a diamond or carbuncle cut with various angles. Therefore use your utmost endeavours to out-do your competitors, if you can, even in those things wherein they pride themselves most.

SERVANTS

SERVANTS and familiar friends, provided they are discreet and cautious, help much to a man's reputation ; *omnis fama a domesticis emanat*. Envy, which acts as a corrosive poison on honour, is best extinguished, by a man's seeming to make it a rule with himself, to court merit, rather than fame; and by attributing his successes, rather to Divine Providence and felicity, than to his own policy or virtues.

THE true and best marshalling of the degrees of sovereign honour is this : In the first place, founders of empires, such as, *Romulus, Cyrus, Julius Cæsar, Ottoman, Ismael*. In the second place, legislators ; who were also called second founders, or *perpetui principes* ; because they govern empires by their laws, even after they are gone : Such were *Lycurgus, Solon, Justinian, Edgar, Alphonsus of Castile*, surnamed the wise, that made the seven partitions. In the third place, *Liberatores*, or saviours of their countries ; such as have put an end to long intestine wars, or delivered their countries from servitude to strangers or tyrants : as *Augustus Cæsar, Vespasian, Aurelian, Theodoric, Henry*
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the Seventh, of *England*, *Henry* the Fourth, king of *France*. In the fourth place, *propagatores*, or *propugnatores imperii*; such as in honourable wars have enlarged the territories of empire; or have made a strenuous or noble defence against invaders. In the last place, are *patres patriæ*, that reign justly, and bless their people as long as they live, with happy times. Of these two last I give no examples, because they are in such number,

DEGREES of honour in subjects are these; first, *participes curarum*; those upon whose shoulders princes lay the greatest weight of their affairs: "kings right hands," as we call them. Next, *duces belli*, great leaders; princes lieutenants I mean; such as do them notable service in the wars. In the third place, favourites; such I mean, who carry their influence no farther than to be a solace to the sovereign, and harmless to the people. In the fourth place, *negotiiis pares*; such as have great places under princes, and execute them with justice and prudence. There is an honour likewise, which happens rarely, and yet deserves to be ranked among the greatest;

greatest. That is, of such as devote and sacrifice themselves to death and danger, for the good of their country: as did *M. Regulus* and the two *Decii*.

OF THE OFFICE OF A JUDGE.

JUDGES ought to remember, that their office is *jus dicere*, and not *jus dare*: I mean to interpret the laws, and not to make them. Else their authority will be like that claimed by the church of *Rome*: which, under pretence of interpreting scripture, sometimes also adds and alters; pronounces that which she does not find; and under a shew of antiquity, introduces novelty.

A JUDGE ought to be rather learned, than witty; venerable than plausible; and more advised than confident. Above all things, integrity is the portion of judges, and their proper virtue. “Curfed (saith the law) is he that removeth the antient land-mark.”

He that transposes a stone, the distinguisher of bounds, is certainly to blame. But it is the unjust judge, that is the capital remover of land-marks, when he gives a partial sentence of lands and property. Doubtless, one foul sentence does more hurt than many foul examples. For these do but corrupt the streams; the other corrupts the fountain. So saith *Solomon*: "A righteous man falling
 " down before his adversary (*causa cadens*
 " *coram*, &c.) is as a troubled fountain, and
 " a corrupted spring." *Prov.* xxiv. 26.

THE office of a judge may have relation partly to the litigants, partly to the advocates, partly to the clerks and ministers of justice under them, and partly to the sovereign or state above them.

As to the contending parties, "There be
 " (saith the Scripture) that turn judgment
 " into worm-wood:" and surely there be also, that turn it into vinegar. For injustice makes it bitter, and delays make it sour.

A strenuous judge makes it his principal business to restrain force and fraud; force is the

the more pernicious, the more open it is; and fraud, the more close and disguised it is. Add likewise contentious suits, which ought to be ejected as the surfeit of courts. A judge should prepare his way to a just sentence, as God prepares his, by raising vallies, and taking down hills. After the same manner, when a judge sees on either side a high hand, viz. a violent prosecution, cunning advantages taken, combination, great and powerful friends, disparity of counsel, &c. then the virtue of a judge shines forth, in making inequality equal, that he may be able to plant his judgment upon even ground.

Qui fortiter emungit, elicit sanguinem: where the wine-press is hard wrought, it yields a harsh wine, that tastes of the grape-stone. Therefore let judges beware of hard constructions, and strained inferences. For there is no worse torture than the torture of laws. Especially in the case of penal laws, they ought to have a care, that what were made for terror be not turned into rigour: and that they bring not upon the people that shower, whereof the scripture speaks;

Pluet super eos laqueos. For penal laws, severely executed, are like a shower of snares falling upon the people. Therefore let such laws; if they have been long dormant, or do not well suit the present times, be restrained by prudent judges, in their execution. *Judicis officium est, ut res, ita tempora rerum, &c.*

IN cases of life and death, it becomes judges, as far as the law permits, in judgment to remember mercy; and to cast a severe eye upon the example, and a merciful one upon the person.

As for the advocates and counsel that plead, patience and gravity in hearing causes are an essential part of a judge; and a judge too interlocutory, is no well-tuned cymbal. It is no commendation to a judge, first to find and lay hold of, in a cause, what he might better have heard in due time from the counsel; to shew quickness in cutting off evidence or counsel too short; or to prevent informations by questions, though pertinent.

THE parts of a judge in hearing, are four: to draw up the evidence; to moderate length, repetition, or impertinence of speech in the counsel and witnesses; to recapitulate and select the material points of what has been alledged; and at last to give sentence. Whatever is more than this, is too much; and arises either from vanity and a fondness of shewing his eloquence, impatience to hear, weakness of memory, or from want of a sedate and even attention.

It is strange to see how frequently the boldness of advocates prevails with judges; whereas, on the other hand, judges, in imitation of God, in whose seat they sit, ought "to repress the presumptuous, and "set up the humble. But it is still more strange, that judges should have open favourites; which must tend to increase and multiply fees, and give suspicion of corruption, and of collusion in the judge.

THERE is some consideration due to the advocate from the judge, where causes are well handled, and fairly pleaded, especially if he lose his cause; for this supports in the

client the reputation of his council, and at the same time lessens the opinion he entertained of his cause. There is likewise due to the public a moderate reprehension of advocates, where they give too crafty counsel, or gross neglect appears, slight information, indecent pressing, or an impudent defence. And let the counsel pay so much deference to the judge as not to interrupt him, or artfully induce him to a fresh enquiry after the judge has given sentence. But on the other side, let not the judge interfere in the middle of the cause, and before it is half pleaded; nor give occasion to the client to complain, that his “counsel, or proofs, were “not fully heard.”

IN treating of clerks and practitioners, the place of justice is, as it were, an hallowed place; where not only the seat itself, but the under-seats also, and the precincts of the seat ought to be free from scandal and corruption. For certainly “grapes (as “the scripture saith) will not be gathered “of thorns or thistles:” Neither can justice yield her fruit with sweetness among
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the briars and brambles of greedy and rapacious clerks and practitioners.

THERE are four evil attendants of courts : First, certain sowers of suits, who make the court thrive, and the country pine. Secondly, those who engage courts in quarrels of jurisdiction : nor are they in truth (as they are esteemed) friends, but rather parasites, in puffing a court up beyond her bounds, for their own views and advantage. Thirdly, those who may be accounted “ the “ left hand of courts ; ” persons who are full of nimble and sinister tricks and shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct practices of courts, and bring justice into intricate labyrinths. Fourthly, the pillagers and exacters of fees, who justify the common resemblance of the courts of justice to the bush, whereunto, while the sheep flies for defence in bad weather, he is sure to lose part of his fleece. On the other side, an old clerk, skilful in precedents, wary in drawing up the acts, and understanding the business, is an excellent guide of a court, and frequently points the way to the judge himself.

As for what may concern the sovereign, or state, judges ought always to remember the conclusion of the *Roman* twelve tables, "The safety of the people is the supreme law;" and to lay it down for a maxim, that laws, unless they tend to that end, are but captious things, and oracles not well inspired. Therefore, it is a happy circumstance for a state, when the king or state often consults with judges; and again, when judges often consult with the king and state: the one, when matter of law intervenes in business of state; the other, when some consideration of state intervenes in matter of law. For many times a thing brought into court may concern *meum* and *tuum*, and yet the reason and consequence thereof may reach to affairs of state.

I UNDERSTAND by matters of state, not only whatever touches the rights of the crown, but introduces any unsafe alteration, dangerous precedent, or manifestly oppresses any considerable portion of the people. Let no one weakly conceive, that just laws, and true politics have any antipathy; for they are

are like the spirits and sinews, one moves with the other.

LET judges also remember, that *Solomon's* throne was supported by lions on both sides; let them be lions, but yet lions under the throne; cautious to attack, or weaken any part of the royal prerogative.

FINALLY, let not judges be so ignorant of their own right and prerogative, as to think, there is not left to them, as a principal part of their office, a sound and prudent use and application of the laws. For they may remember, what the apostle says of a greater law than theirs; "We know that the law is good, provided a man use it lawfully."

O F A N G E R.

THE endeavour to extinguish anger utterly, is a bravado of the Stoics. We have better oracles: "Be angry, but sin not. Let not the sun go down upon your anger." Anger must be limited, both as to degree, and time. We will first speak, how the natural inclination, or habit of anger, may be tempered and calmed. Secondly, how the particular motions of anger may be repressed, or at least restrained from doing mischief. Thirdly, how to raise or appease anger in another.

For the first; there seems to be no other way, than seriously to ruminate upon the evils and calamities of anger; and how vehemently it disturbs and embroils the life of man. And the most seasonable time to do this, is to look behind us, as soon as ever the fit is over. *Seneca* says ingeniously, "That anger is like a ruin, which, by falling upon something else, breaks and dash-

“es itself to pieces.” The scripture exhorts us, “to possess our souls in patience.” Certainly, whosoever is out of patience, is out of possession of his soul. It does not become men to imitate bees;

Animasque in vulnere ponunt.

Prone to revenge, the bees, a wrathful race,
When once provok'd, assault th' aggressor's face;
And thro' the purple veins a passage find,
There fix their stings, and leave their souls behind,

DRYDEN,

DOUBTLESS, anger, if a man considers it well, is a mean thing, and below the dignity of man. This will manifestly appear, by considering those persons in whom anger reigns; who are generally of the weaker sort; children, women, old folks, sick folks. Therefore, when they chance to be angry, men should take care, if they mean not to forget their dignity, to blend their anger not with fear, but with scorn of the persons they are angry with, which is easily done, if a man could govern and manage his anger a little.

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As to the second, the causes and motives of anger are chiefly three. First, if a man be too sensible of injury ; for no man is angry, but he that feels himself hurt. Therefore tender and delicate persons will frequently feel the impulse of anger ; for they have abundance of things to trouble them, which more robust natures have hardly any sense of. Secondly, if a man be curious and quick in the construction of the injury offered, as to the circumstances of it, as though it breathed contempt : for an apprehension of contempt, excites and puts an edge upon anger, more than the hurt itself. Therefore if men are ingenious in picking out circumstances of contempt, they will strangely inflame their anger. Lastly, an opinion, that a man's reputation is hurt and touched, increases and multiplies anger : wherein the remedy is, for a man to have, as *Consalvo* used to say, *telam honoris crassior* ; to have honour of a stronger texture. But in restraining of anger, it is best to win time, and to persuade one's self, that the hour of revenge is not yet come, but that an excellent opportunity for it is just at hand ;

hand; and thus to restrain the disorder, and to reserve himself for another season.

To contain anger from doing mischief, whenever it takes hold of a man, there are two things we must especially beware of. The first is, bitterness of words, especially if they be stinging, and proper to the person whom we smite; for common reproaches sting less. And again, revealing of secrets; for this renders a man unfit for society. The next is, that you do not, in a fit of anger, break off any business that you have in hand; but however you give the reins to passion, that you act nothing, however, that is irrevocable.

RAISING, or appeasing anger in others, is done chiefly by a prudent choice of times. When men are rather sad, or a little out of humour, then is the time to incense them. Again, by gathering and inculcating whatever may argue or aggravate contempt. On the other side, anger is appeased by the two contraries. First, by pitching upon times of serenity and cheerfulness, to discover an unwelcome angry business; for the first impression

pression is a great matter. Next, by severing, as much as may be, the construction of the injury from the point of contempt; imputing it to inexperience, fear, a sudden passion, or the like.

OF VICISSITUDES.

SOLOMON saith, "There is no new thing under the sun. Wherefore, as *Plato* had an imagination, "That all knowledge is but remembrance;" so *Solomon* pronounces, "That all novelty is but oblivion. Whereby you may see, that the river *Lethe* runs as well above ground as below.

A CERTAIN abstruse and little known astrologer asserts, "That if it were not for
 " two things that are constant, the one is,
 " that the fixed stars ever stand at like distance one from another, and never come
 " nearer together, nor go further asunder:"
 the

the other, “ that the diurnal motion varies
 “ not : no individual would last one mo-
 “ ment.” Certain it is, that matter is in a
 perpetual flux, and never stops its course.

THE great winding-sheets that bury all things in oblivion are two; deluges and earthquakes. As for conflagrations and great droughts, they do not utterly dispeople, or destroy. *Phaeton's* chariot went but a day; and the three years drought in the time of *Elias*, was but particular, and left many alive. As for the great fires kindled by lightnings, which are often in the *West-Indies*, they are but narrow, and extend not to any great space of country. Pestilences also I pass by, because those also do not totally sweep; but in the other two forementioned calamities, deluges and earthquakes, it is necessary to mention, that the remnants of people who happen to escape are commonly ignorant and mountainous people, and such as can deliver down no account of the time past to posterity; so that the oblivion is all one, as if none had been left.

If a man consider well of the people in the *West-Indies*, he will find it probable, that they are a younger people, than the people of the old world. But it is much more likely, that the desolation that had heretofore invaded them, was not by earthquakes (contrary to what the *Ægyptian* priest told *Salon*, concerning the island of *Atlantis*, “ That it “ was swallowed by an earthquake :”) but rather by a particular deluge. For earthquakes seldom happen in those parts. But on the other side, they have such vast rivers, that those of *Asia*, *Africa*, and *Europe*, are but brooks to them. Their *Andes* likewise, or mountains, are far higher than those with us : whereby it appears credible, that the remnants of generations of men among them, were saved after such a particular deluge.

As for the observation of *Machiavel* ; that the jealousy and emulation of sects have laboured much to extinguish the memory of things ; branding *Gregory* the Great, for endeavouring to extinguish all heathen antiquities : I do not find, that such a zeal produces any great or permanent effect : as it

appears in the succession of *Sabinian*, who revived the former antiquities. Besides, things prohibited, though kept in darkness, will nevertheless emerge, and have their periods.

VICISSITUDES, or changes in the superior globe, are not to be much insisted upon in this argument. It may be, *Plato's* great year, if the world should last so long, would have some effect; not in renewing the state of individuals, for that is the vanity of those, who conceive that the celestial bodies have more accurate influences upon these things below, than indeed they have, but only in the sum of things. Comets, out of question, have likewise some power and effect over the mass of matter. But men, now-a-days, are either careless, or curious about them; and rather gaze upon them with admiration, and attend to their course, than wisely and seriously observe their effects; especially their respective or comparative effects: that is, distinguishing the species of a comet, by magnitude, colour, version of the beams, place in the region of heaven, duration, and influence.

THERE is an opinion, which I have heard and would not have slighted, but taken notice of a little. It is observed in the *Low-Countries*, (I know not in what part) that every five and thirty years the same kind of years and weather comes about again: for instance, great frosts, great rains, great droughts, warm winters, summers with little heat, and the like. And they call such a circle of years, the Prime. This is a thing I rather mention, because computing backwards, I have found something like this; not to an exactness indeed, yet without any great variation.

But to leave these points of nature, and come to men. The greatest vicissitude of things among men, is the change of sects and religion. For those objects have the greatest influence on the minds of men. The “true religion is built upon a rock;” the rest are tost upon the waves of time. Let us speak therefore of the causes of new sects, and intersperse some counsel concerning them; as far as the weakness of human judgment may be able to give check, or remedy, to such great revolutions.

WHEN the received religion is rent by discords; and when the holiness of the professors is decayed and full of scandal; the times also stupid, ignorant, and barbarous; the springing up of a new sect may reasonably be feared; especially, if there should then arise any extravagant and heretical spirit: all which points held, when *Mahomet* published his law.

THOUGH a new sect should shoot up, yet if it be destitute of two props, fear it not; as it will not spread. The first is, the supplanting or opposing of the authority established: for nothing is more popular than to destroy civil governments and states. The other is, giving licence to luxury and voluptuousness. As for speculative heresies, (such as were anciently the *Arians*, and now the *Arminians*) though they work wonderfully upon men's wits, yet they do not produce any great alterations in states, except it be by the help of civil occasions.

THERE are three ways of planting new sects: by miracles, eloquence, and the sword. As for martyrdoms, I reckon them

amongst miracles; because they seem to exceed the strength of human nature: and I may do the like of an exalted and admirable holiness of life.

CERTAINLY, there is no better way to stop the rising of new sects and schisms, than to reform abuses; to compound the smaller differences; to proceed mildly at first; to abstain from sanguinary persecutions; and rather to soften and allure the principal authors, by favouring and advancing them, than to enrage them by violence and bitterness.

THE changes and vicissitudes in warlike matters are many; but they lie chiefly in three things: in the seat of war; in weapons; and military discipline. Wars in ancient time seemed chiefly to move from east to west: for the *Persians*, *Assyrians*, *Arabs*, *Scythians*, (who were the invaders) were all eastern people. It is true, the *Gauls* were western; but we read only of two incursions of theirs: the one on *Gallo-Græcia*, the other against the *Romans*. But east and west have no certain points of heaven; nor
have

have the wars, either from the east or west, any certainty of observation. But north and south are fixed by nature : and it hath seldom or never been seen, that the far southern people have invaded the northern : but, on the contrary. Whence it is manifest, that the northern tract of the world is in nature the more martial region ; whether in respect to the stars of that hemisphere, or of the great continents that are upon the north : whereas the south part (for ought that is known) is almost all sea ; or, which is most apparent, in respect to the cold of the northern parts, which, without any other cause whatever, hardens the body, and fires the courage.

UPON the decline and subversion of a great state and empire, you may be sure to have wars. For great empires, while they stand, enervate and destroy the native forces of the provinces which they have subdued, trusting to their own forces at home : and when these fail, all goes to ruin, and they become a prey to other nations. So was it in the declension of the *Roman* empire ; and likewise in the empire of *Almain*, after *Charles*

the Great, every bird taking a feather: and some such thing may probably happen to the *Spanish* empire, if it should break.

ON the other side, great accessions of dominion, and unions of kingdoms, do likewise stir up wars. For when a state rises to an over-great power, it is like the swelling of a river, which presently threatens an inundation; as it hath been seen in the empires of *Rome*, *Turkey*, *Spain*, and others. We may observe, when the world abounds with people not barbarous, but are generally civilized; such as will not marry at random or generate, unless they foresee the means of maintaining their families handsomely, or at least of getting a livelihood, which prevails every where at this day, except in *Tartary*; there is no danger of inundations, or removals of people into other parts. But when there are great shoals of people that are perpetually generating, without any care or foresight of their future fortune and support, they must once in an age or two discharge a portion of their people, and seek new habitations, and so invade other countries; which the ancient northern people

ple are accustomed to do by lot: casting lots, what part should stay at home, and what should seek their fortunes.

WHEN a warlike state grows effeminate, they may be sure of a war: for commonly such states grow rich in the time of their degenerating; and so the prey invites, and their decay in valour encourages other nations to invade them.

As for arms and weapons, they hardly fall under observation; yet we see even these have their returns and vicissitudes. For certain it is, that ordnance was known in the city of *Oxydrakes*, in *India*; and was what the *Macedonians* called thunder, lightning, and magic. It is well known also, that the use of ordnance has been in *China* above 2000 years.

THE properties of weapons, and their improvements, are these: first, the carrying a great way, for that out-runs the danger; which is the case of ordnance and musquets. Secondly, the strength and force of the percussion; wherein likewise ordnance exceeds

all the strokes of the battering ram, and ancient inventions. Thirdly, the commodious use of them : and here again ordnance comes in, which serve all weathers, and are light and manageable for carriage.

THE conduct of war, in ancient times, depended chiefly upon number : princes trusted likewise to the courage and bravery of the soldiers ; and often appointed days for pitched fields, to try an even match ; and they were more ignorant in ranging and arraying their battles. Afterwards, they were for a chosen army well appointed ; they studied advantage of place, cunning, diversions, and other stratagems : lastly, they grew to be more skilful in the arrangement of their battles.

IN the youth of a state arms flourish ; in its middle age learning ; and then both of them together for a time : in its declining age, mechanical arts and merchandize. Learning has its infancy, when it is light and puerile : then its youth, when it is luxuriant and juvenile : next, its strength of years, when it is solid and exact : lastly, its
old

old age, when it is dry and exhausted, but verbose. It is not good to look too long upon these turning wheels of vicissitude, lest we become giddy. As for philology, which generally comes in on this subject, it is but a train of narrations, and therefore not fit for this essay.

O F D E A T H.

MEN fear death, as children fear darkness. And as that natural fear in children is increased with frightful tales, so is the other also. Certainly, the contemplation of death, as “the wages of sin,” and a passage to another life, is pious and wholesome; but the fear of it, as it is a debt of nature, is weak and vain. Yet in religious meditations, there is sometimes an alloy of vanity and of superstition likewise. It is advised, in some of the friar’s books which treat of mortification, that a man should think with himself, what the pain is, when

when even the least joint of a finger is tortured ; and thereby judge how great the torment of death is, when the whole body is corrupted and dissolved ; though death many times passes with less pain, than is felt in the torture of a limb : for the most vital parts are not the quickest of sense. And by him that spake only as a philosopher, and natural man, it was well said ; *Pompa mortis magis terret, quam mors ipsa* : groans and sobs, convulsions, paleness of visage, friends weeping, funeral obsequies, and the like, are the things that shew death terrible. It is very observable, that there is no passion of the mind so weak, but it masters and subdues the fear of death. And therefore death is no such formidable enemy, since a man has so many champions about him, that can win the combat of him. Revenge triumphs over death ; love flights it ; honour courts it ; fear of disgrace chuses it ; grief flies to it ; fear anticipates it. Nay we read, that after *Otho* the emperor had slain himself, even pity (which is the tenderest of affections) provoked many to die with him, out of mere compassion to their sovereign, and as the truest sort of attendants.

ants. Nay, *Seneca* adds niceness and satiety ; *Cogita quamdiu eadem feceris ; mori velle, non tantum fortis ; aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus potest.* “ Consider how long you have done
 “ the same things ; a man would die, though
 “ he were neither valiant, nor miserable,
 “ only upon weariness of doing the same
 “ things over and over again.”

NOR is it less observable, what little alteration, in a generous and brave mind, the approach of death makes ; for those men bear the same spirit even to the last moment. *Augustus Cæsar* died in a compliment · *Livia, conjugii nostri, vive, et vale.* *Tiberius*, in dissimulation ; for *Tacitus* says thus of him ; *Jam Tiberium, vires et corpus, non dissimulatio, deserebant.* *Vespasian*, in a jest ; for easing himself upon the stool · *Ut puto, Deus fio.* *Galba* with a sentence ; *Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani* ; holding forth his neck at the same time. *Septimius Severus*, in the dispatch of business ; *Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum* ; and the like of others. Certainly the Stoics bestowed too much cost upon death ; for, by their grand preparations against it, they have made it appear more terrible.

Better

Better he, *Qui finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponat naturæ*. For it is as natural for men to die as to be born ; and an infant, perhaps, feels as much pain in this, as the other.

HE that dies in the prosecution of some earnest desire, is like one that is wounded in hot blood, who does not feel the blow ; therefore a mind fixed and bent upon what is good, steals from the pains of death. But, when all is done, the sweetest of canticles is *nunc dimittis* ; when a man has obtained his ends, and worthy expectations. There is this also in death, that it opens the gate to good fame, and extinguishes envy.

Extinctus amabitur idem.

O F F A M E.

A FRAGMENT.

THE poets make Fame a monster. They describe her in part finely and elegantly, and in part gravely and sententiouslly. They say, “ Behold as many feathers as she hath, “ so many eyes also has she underneath ; so “ many tongues, so many ears erect to listen.”

THIS is a poetical flourish. There follow excellent similes ; as that she gathers strength in going ; that she goes upon the ground, and yet hides her head in the clouds ; that in the day-time she keeps watch, and flies mostly by night ; that she sings of things done, and things not done ; that she is a terror to great cities : but what excels all the rest is, that the Earth, mother of the giants that made war upon *Jupiter*, and were destroyed by him, afterwards in anger brought forth

forth fame. For indeed rebels, which are represented by the giants, and seditious fame and libels, are but brothers and sisters, masculine and feminine. But now if a man could tame this monster, and bring her to feed from the hand, govern her, and fly her at, and kill other birds of prey, it would be something worth. But we are infected with the stile of the poets. To speak in a sober and serious manner, there is not in all politics a subject less handled, and yet more worthy of notice than fame. We will therefore speak to these points: what is false, what true fame, and how they may be discerned; how rumours may be sown and raised; how they may be spread and multiplied; lastly, how they may be suppressed, and other matters concerning the nature of fame.

FAME is of that force, that there is scarce any action wherein it has not a part, especially in war. *Mucianus* undid *Vitellius* by a report he had spread; that *Vitellius* purposed to remove the legions of *Syria* into *Germany*, and the legions of *Germany* into *Syria*; upon which the legions of *Syria* were infinitely inflamed.

inflamed. *Julius Cæsar* took *Pompey* unprovided, and laid asleep his industry and preparations, by a report which he cunningly gave out, that *Cæsar's* own soldiers loved him not; and being wearied with the wars, and laden with the spoils of *Gaul*, would forsake him as soon as he came into *Italy*. *Livia* settled all things for the succession of her son *Tiberius*, by continually giving out, that her husband *Augustus* was upon recovery and amendment. And it is an usual thing with *Bashaws* to conceal the death of the Great Turk from the *Janizaries*, and men of war, to save the sacking of *Constantinople*, and other towns, as is their usual custom. *Themistocles* made *Xerxes* king of *Persia* post out of *Greece*, by reporting that the *Grecians* had a design to break his bridge of ships which he had made across the *Hellepont*. There are a thousand such examples; and the more they are, the less they need to be repeated; because a man meets with them every where. Therefore let all wise governors have as great a watch and care over rumours and fame, as they have of the actions and designs themselves.

* * * * *

HELPS

H E I P S

FOR THE

INTELLECTUAL POWERS.

I EVER held it for an insolent and unlucky saying, *Faber quisque fortunæ suæ* ; “ Every man may be the architect of his own fortune ;” except it be uttered only as an exhortation, or spur to correct sloth. For, otherwise, if it is believed as it sounds, that a man imagines he can compass and fathom all accidents ; ascribes all successes to his own designs ; and the contrary to his sloth and negligence ; it is commonly seen, that the evening fortune of that man is not so prosperous, as of him, that, without slackening of his industry, attributes much to felicity, and a providence above him. But if the sentence were turned to this ; “ Every man is the architect of his own wit and understanding ;” it were more likely to be true, and much more profitable ;
because

because it would teach men to reform those imperfections in themselves, which now they seek but to cover; and to attain those virtues and good parts, which now they seek but to have only in shew and demonstration. Yet, notwithstanding, every man attempts to be an artist of the first branch, and few bind themselves to the second; nevertheless, the rising in fortune seldom amends the mind; but, on the contrary, removing the stands and impediments of the mind, does often clear the passage and current to a man's fortune. For certain it is, whether it be believed or not, that as the most excellent of metals, gold, is of all others the most pliant, and malleable; so, of all living and breathing substances, the most perfect, man, is the most susceptible of help, improvement, impression, and alteration; and not only in his body, but in his mind and spirit; not only in his appetite and affection, but in his powers of wit and reason.

For as to the body of man, we find many and strange experiences, how nature is overwrought by custom, even in actions that

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seem

seem of most difficulty, and least possible. As first, in voluntary motion; which, though it be termed voluntary, yet in the highest degrees of it is not so; for it is in my power and will to run; but to run faster, than according to my lightness, or disposition of body, is not in my power, nor will. We see the industry and practice of tumblers, what wonderful effects it brings the body of man unto. So for suffering of pain and grief, which is thought so contrary to the nature of man, there are many examples of penances which they, in strict orders of superstition, endure: such as may verify the report of the *Spartan* boys, who were used to be scourged upon the altar so bitterly, as sometimes they died of it, and yet were never heard to complain. And to pass to those faculties, which are reckoned more involuntary, as long fasting and abstinence; and the contrary extreme, voracity, the leaving and forbearing the use of drink altogether, the enduring vehement cold, and the like. There are not wanting many examples of strange victories over the body, in every one of these. Nay, in respiration, there is proof of some, who, by continual

continual use of diving, and working under the water, have brought themselves to be able to hold their breath an incredible time; and others, that have been able, without suffocation, to endure the stifling breath of an oven or furnace, so heated, as though it did not scald nor burn, yet it was many degrees too hot for any man, not made to it, to breath in. And some impostors and counterfeits likewise have been able to writhe, and cast their bodies into strange forms and motions; others to bring themselves into trances and fits of stupefaction, which examples demonstrate how variously, and to what high points and degrees the body of man may be, as it were, moulded and wrought. And if any man conceives, that it is some secret propriety of nature, that has been in those persons who have attained to those points; and that it is not open for every man to do the like, though he had been put to it; for which cause such things come but very rarely to pass. It is true no doubt, but some persons are apter than others; but, as the greater quickness causes perfection, the less aptness does not disable. There is no question, but these

abilities would have been more common; and others of the like sort not attempted, would likewise have been brought upon the stage, but for two reasons; the one, because of mens diffidence, in prejudging them as impossibilities; for it holds in those things which the poet says, *possunt, quia posse videntur*: "They can conquer, who believe they can." For no man shall know how much may be done, except he believes it can be done. The other reason is, because they are practices base and inglorious, and of no great use, and therefore sequestered from reward of value; and, on the other side, painful, so as the recompence ballances not the suffering. And as to the will of man, it is that which is most manageable and obedient, as that which admits most medicines to cure and alter it. The most sovereign of all is religion; which is able to change and transform it, in the deepest and most inward inclinations and motions. And next to that is opinion and apprehension, whether it be infused by tradition and institution, or wrought in by disputation or persuasion. The third is example, which transforms the will of man into the similitude of that, which is most

most obversant and familiar towards it. The fourth is, when one affection is healed and corrected by another; as when cowardice is remedied by shame and dishonour; or sluggishness and backwardness, by indignation and emulation, and so forth. And lastly, when all these means, or any of them, have new framed or formed human will; then custom and habit corroborate and confirm all the rest. And therefore it is no marvel, though this faculty of the mind, of will and election, which inclines affection and appetite, being but the inceptions and rudiments of will, may be so well governed and managed; because it admits access to divers remedies to be applied, and work upon it. The effects are so many and so known, as to require no enumeration; but generally they issue, as medicines do, into two kinds of cures; the one of which is a just or true cure, and the other is called palliation. For either the labour and intention is, to reform the affections really and truly; restraining them if they be too violent, and raising them, if they be too soft and weak; or else it is, to cover them; or, if there is occasion, to pretend and represent them. Of the

former sort, the examples are plentiful in the schools of philosophers, and in all other institutions of moral virtue; and of the latter, the examples are more plentiful in the courts of princes, and in all political traffic; where it is usual to find, not only profound dissimulations, and suffocating the affections, that no note or mark appear of them outwardly; but also living similitudes and affectations, carrying the tokens of passions which are not; as a commanded laugh, and tears forced.

A N
E S S A Y
O N
D E A T H.

I. **I** Have often thought upon death, and I find it the least of all evils. All that which is past, is as a dream; and he that hopes or depends upon time coming, dreams waking. So much of our life as we have discovered is already dead; and all those hours which we share, even from the breasts of our mother, until we return to our grandmother, the earth, are part of our dying days; whereof even this is one, and those that succeed are of the same nature, for we die daily; and as others have given place to us, so we must in the end give way to others.

2. PHYSICIANS, in the name of death, include all sorrow, anguish, disease, calamity, or whatsoever can fall in the life of man, either grievous or unwelcome: but these things are familiar unto us, and we suffer them every hour; therefore we die daily, and I am older since I affirmed it.

3. I know many wise men that fear to die; for the change is bitter, and flesh would refuse to prove it: besides, the expectation brings terror, and that exceeds the evil. But I do not believe, that any man fears to be dead, but only the stroke of death: and such are my hopes, that if heaven be pleased, and nature renew but my lease for twenty-one years more, without asking longer days, I shall be strong enough to acknowledge without mourning, that I was begotten mortal. Virtue walks not in the highway, though she go *per alta*; this is strength and the blood to virtue, to contemn things that are desired, and to neglect that which is feared,

4. WHY should man be in love with his fetters, though of gold? Art thou drowned in security? Then I say thou art perfectly dead.

dead. For though thou moveſt, yet thy ſoul is buried within thee, and thy good angel either forſakes his guard, or ſleeps. There is nothing under heaven, ſaving a true friend, who cannot be counted within the number of moveables, unto which my heart doth lean. And this dear freedom hath begotten me this peace, that I mourn not for that end which muſt be, nor ſpend one wiſh to have one minute added to the uncertain date of my years. It was no mean apprehenſion of *Lucian*, who ſays of *Menippus*, that in his travels through hell he knew not the kings of the earth from other men, but only by their louder cryings and tears; which was foſtered in them through the remorseful memory of the good days they had ſeen, and the fruitful havings which they ſo unwillingly left behind them: he that was well ſeated, looked back at his portion, and was loth to forſake his farm; and others either minding marriages, pleaſures, profit, or preferments, deſired to be excuſed from death's banquet: they had made an appointment with earth, looking at the bleſſings, not the hand that enlarged them, forgetting how
naked

naked they came hither, or with what primitive ornaments they were arrayed.

5. But were we servants of the precept given, and observers of the heathens rule *memento mori*, and not become benighted with this seeming felicity, we should enjoy it as men prepared to lose, and not wind up our thoughts upon so perishing a fortune: he that is not slackly strung, as the servants of pleasure, how can he be found unready to quit the veil and false visage of his perfection? The soul having shaken off her flesh, does then set up for herself, and contemning things that are under, shews what finger hath enforced her; for the souls of idiots are of the same piece with those of statesmen, but now and then nature is at a fault; this good guest of ours takes soil in an imperfect body, and so is slackened from shewing her wonders; like an excellent musician, which cannot utter himself upon a defective instrument.

6. But see how I swerve, and lose my course, touching at the soul, that does least hold action with death, who has the surest

surest property in this frail act ; his stile is the end of all flesh, and the beginning of incorruption.

THIS ruler of monuments leads men for the most part out of this world with their heels forward, in token that he is contrary to life ; which being obtained, sends men headlong into this wretched theatre, where being arrived, their first language is that of mourning. Nor in my own thoughts, can I compare men more fitly to any thing, than to the Indian fig-tree, which being ripened to his full height, is said to decline his branches down to the earth ; whereof she conceives again, and they become roots in their own stock.

So man having derived his being from the earth, first lives the life of a tree, drawing his nourishment as a plant, and made ripe for death he tends downwards, and is sowed again in his mother, the earth, where he perisheth not, but expects a quickening.

7. So we see death exempts not a man from being, but only presents an alteration ;
yet

yet there are some men, I think, that stand otherwise persuaded. Death finds not a worse friend than an alderman, to whose door I never knew him welcome; but he is an importunate guest, and will not be said nay.

AND though they themselves shall affirm, that they are not within, yet the answer will not be taken; and that which heightens their fear is, that they know they are in danger to forfeit their flesh, but are not wise of the payment day: which sickly uncertainty is the occasion, that for the most part, they step out of this world unfurnished for their general account, and being all unprovided, desire yet to hold their gravity, preparing their souls to answer in scarlet.

THUS I gather, that death is disagreeable to most citizens, because they commonly die intestate: this being a rule, that when their will is made, they think themselves nearer a grave than before: now they, out of the wisdom of thousands, think to scare destiny, from which there is no appeal, by not making a will, or to live longer by protestation of

of their unwillingness to die. They are for the most part well made in this world, accounting their treasure by legions, as men do devils; their fortune looks towards them, and they are willing to anchor at it, and desire, if it be possible, to put the evil day far off from them, and to adjourn their ungraceful and killing period.

No, these are not the men which have bespoken death, or whose looks are assured to entertain a thought of him.

8. DEATH arrives gracious only to such as sit in darkness, or lie heavy burdened with grief and irons; to the poor Christian that sits bound in the galley; to despairing widows, pensive prisoners, and deposed kings; to them whose fortune runs back, and whose spirit mutinies; unto such death, is a redeemer, and the grave a place for retirement and rest.

THESE wait upon the shore of death, and waft unto him to draw near, wishing above all others, to see his star, that they might be led to his place; wooing the remorseless
sisters

sifters to wind down the watch of their life, and to break them off before the hour.

9. But death is a doleful messenger to an usurer, and fate untimely cuts their thread; for it is never mentioned by him, but when rumours of war and civil tumults put him in mind thereof.

AND when many hands are armed, the peace of a city in disorder, and the foot of the common soldiers sounds an alarm on his stairs, then perhaps such a one, broken in thoughts of his monies abroad, and cursing the monuments of coin which are in his house, can be content to think of death, and, being hasty of perdition, will perhaps hang himself, lest his throat should be cut; provided that he may do it in his study, surrounded with wealth, to which his eye sends a faint and languishing salute, even upon the turning off; remembering always, that he has time and liberty, by writing, to depute himself as his own heir.

FOR that is a great peace to his end, and reconciles him wonderfully upon the point.

10. HEREIN

10. HEREIN we all dally with ourselves, and are without proof till necessity. I am none of those who dare promise to pine away in vain-glory, for I hold such to be but affected boldness, and them that dare commit it to be vain. Yet for my part, I think nature would do me great wrong, if I should be so long in dying, as I was in being born.

To speak truth, no man knows the extent of his own patience; nor can divine how able he shall be in his sufferings, till the storm comes, the perfectest virtue being tried in action; but I would, out of a care to do the best business well, ever keep a guard, and stand upon keeping faith and a good conscience.

11. AND if wishes might find place, I would die together, and not my mind often, and my body once; that is, I would prepare for the messengers of death, sickness, and affliction, and not wait long, or be attempted by the violence of pain.

HEREIN I do not profess myself a stoic, to hold grief no evil, but opinion, and a thing indifferent.

BUT

BUT I consent with *Cæsar*, that the most sudden passage is easiest; and there is nothing more awakens our resolve and readiness to die, than the quieted conscience, strengthened with opinion that we shall be well spoken of upon earth by those that are just, and of the family of virtue; the opposite whereof is a fury to man, and makes even life unpleasant.

THEREFORE, what is more heavy than evil fame deserved? Or likewise, who can see worse days, than he that yet living doth follow at the funeral of his own reputation? I have laid up many hopes that I am privileged from that kind of mourning, and could wish the like peace to all those with whom I wage love.

12. I might say much of the commodities that death can sell a man; but briefly, death is a friend of ours, and he that is not ready to entertain him, is not at home. Whilst I am, my ambition is not to flow before the tide; I have but so to make my interest, as I may account for it; I would wish nothing but what might better my days, nor desire

any greater place than the front of good opinion. I make not love to the continuance of days, but to the goodness of them; nor wish to die, but refer myself to that hour, which the great dispenser of all things hath appointed me; yet as I am frail, and suffered for the first fault, were it given me to choose, I should not be earnest to see the evening of my age; that extremity, of itself being a disease, and a mere return into infancy: so that if perpetuity of life might be given me, I should think what the Greek poet said, "Such an age is a mortal evil. And since I needs must die, I would rather it might be before my friends than mine enemies, that I may not be stripped before I be cold. The night was even now; but that name is lost; it is not now late but early. Mine eyes begin to discharge their watch, and compound with this fleshly weakness for a time of perpetual rest; and I shall presently be as happy for a few hours, as if I had died the first hour I was born.

A
CIVIL CHARACTER

OF

JULIUS CÆSAR.

JULIUS CÆSAR was partaker at first of a persecuted fortune, which turned to his benefit ; for this abated the haughtiness of his spirit, and whetted his industry. He had a mind, turbulent in his desires and affections ; but in his judgment and understanding, very serene and placid ; and this appears in his easy delivery of himself, both in his transactions and in his speech. For no man ever resolved more swiftly, or spake with more perspicuity. Nothing intangled, nothing intricate could be observed in his expressions. But in his will and appetite he was one that never acquiesced in those things he had gotten, but still advanced further ; yet so that he would not rush into new affairs rashly, but settle and
make

make an end of the former, before he attempted fresh actions; for he always put a full period to his undertakings. And therefore, though he won many battles in *Spain*, and weakened their forces by degrees; yet he would not give over, nor despise the relics of the civil war there, till he had seen all things composed; but then as soon as that was done, instantly he advanced an expedition against the *Partians*.

HE was, no doubt, a man of an exceeding great soul, yet such as aimed more at his own particular advancement, than at any services to the common-wealth. For he referred all things to himself, and was the true and perfect center of all his actions; which was the cause of his very great, and almost perpetual success and prosperity. For neither country, nor religion, nor good turns done him, nor kindred, nor friendship, checked his designs, nor bridled him from pursuing his own ends. Neither was he much inclined to works of perpetuity; for he established nothing for future times; he founded no sumptuous buildings; he procured to be enacted no wholesome laws,

but still minded himself only ; and his thoughts were confined within the circle of his own life. He fought indeed after fame and reputation, because he thought they might be of some service to his designs : otherwise, in his inward thoughts, he proposed to himself rather unbounded power, than honour and fame. As for honour and fame, he pursued not after them for themselves, but as instruments of power and greatness : and therefore he was carried on by a natural impulse, not by any moral rules that he had learned, to affect the sole government, but rather to enjoy the same, than to seem worthy of it ; which won him much reputation amongst the people, who are no valuers of true worth ; but amongst the nobility and great men, who were tender of their own honour, he incurred the imputation of an ambitious and daring man.

NEITHER did they err much from the truth, for he was by nature exceeding bold ; and never put on any shew of modesty, but to serve a purpose. Yet notwithstanding, his boldness was so fashioned, that it neither
brought

brought him under the censure of rashness, nor was burthensome and offensive to men, nor rendered his nature suspected, but was conceived to flow from an innate sincerity and freeness of behaviour, and from the nobility of his birth. And in all other things too he got the reputation, not of a crafty and deceitful person, but of an open-hearted and plain-dealing man. As he was the greatest master of dissimulation, and wholly compounded of artifices, there was not a relic of his nature left, but what art had improved; yet nothing of artifice, nothing of affectation appeared, but he was reputed to enjoy and follow his natural temper and disposition. However, he did not stoop to any petty and mean intrigues, such as those men are obliged to use, who are unpractised in state matters, and depend not so much upon their own strength, as upon the abilities of others, to support their authority; being a man perfectly skilled in all human affairs, and transacting all matters of any consequence by himself, and not by others.

He was singularly skillful to extinguish envy, and thought it not impertinent to his

ends to decline it, though it were with some diminution of his dignity. For aiming at a real power, he was content to decline and pass by all vain pomp and outward shew of power, throughout almost the whole course of his life; till at last, whether satiated with the continual exercise of power, or corrupted by flattery, he affected even the ensigns of power, the stile and diadem of a king, which turned to his destruction.

HE harboured the thoughts of a kingdom from his very youth; and this, the example of *Sylla*, the affinity of *Marius*, his emulation of *Pompey*, and the corruption and turbulence of the times, naturally suggested to him. But then he paved his way to a kingdom in a wonderful orderly manner: first, by a popular and seditious power; afterwards by a military and imperial power. For first he was to break the power and authority of the senate, which, as long as it remained entire, prevented his climbing to immoderate and unlawful sovereignty. After this, the power of *Crassus* and *Pompey* was to be over-turned, which could not be done otherwise than by arms. And there-
fore

fore, as a most expert architect of his own fortune, he raised and carried on his first structure by largesses; by corrupting the courts of justice; by renewing the memory of *Caius Marius*, and his party (most of the senators and nobility being of *Sylla's* faction); by the law of distributing the lands amongst the common people; by seditious tribunes that he set on; by the madness and fury of *Catiline* and his conspirators, whom he secretly favoured; by the banishment of *Cicero*, upon which the authority of the senate turned; and several other the like arts; but most of all by the conjunction of *Craffus* and *Pompey*, both betwixt themselves and with him; which was the thing that finished the work.

HAVING accomplished this part, he presently set himself to the other; being now made proconsul of the *Gallias* for five years, and afterwards continued for five years more; furnished with arms and legions, and the power of a warlike and opulent province, he became formidable to *Italy*.

FOR he was not ignorant, that after he had strengthened himself with arms, and military power, neither *Crassus* or *Pompey* could bear up against him; the one trusting to his riches, the other to his fame and reputation; one decaying in age, the other in authority; neither of them depending upon true and stable foundations. All which things succeeded to his desire; especially having tied and obliged all the senators and magistrates, and, in a word, all that had any power, so firmly to himself, by private benefits, that he was fearless of any conspiracy, or combination against his designs, till he had openly invaded the commonwealth.

WHICH thing, though he had ever designed, and at last effected, yet he did not lay aside his mask; but carried himself so, that what with the reasonableness of his demands, his pretences of peace, and what with the moderate use of his successes, he turned the envy upon the adverse party, and pretended to take up arms upon necessity, for his own preservation and safety. The falseness of which pretence manifestly appeared, when having obtained the regal power

power, (the civil wars ended, and all his rivals; that gave him any concern, being slain and removed out of the way) notwithstanding he never once thought of restoring the republic, nor vouchsafed so much as any shew or pretence of it. Which clearly shews, that he had ever a desire and design of being a king; for he did not lay hold upon occasions as they happened, but formed and worked out occasions himself. His chief ability shone in martial affairs, in which he so excelled, that he could not only lead an army, but mould them to his own liking. For he was not more skilful in managing affairs, than in winning of hearts. Neither did he effect this by any ordinary discipline, which might inure them to obedience, strike shame into them, or keep them in awe by fear; but by such a way as wonderfully stirred up an ardor and alacrity in them, and did in a manner assure him of the victory beforehand; which endeared the soldiery to him more than was expedient for a free state.

AND

HE was engaged in wars of all kinds, and joined civil arts with military ; nothing came so suddenly, or surprizingly upon him, but he had a remedy at hand for it ; and nothing so adverse, but he drew something out of it to his advantage.

HE had a due regard to his state and character ; for in great battles he would sit in his pavilion, and manage all by messages : from which he received a double advantage ; that he both put himself the feldomer in danger, and in case of a turn for the worse, renewed the battle by his own presence, as by a fresh supply of auxiliaries. In all his military preparations he did not conduct his affairs by precedent only, but still devised new schemes, according to the present exigence of accidents and occasions,

HE was constant enough, and singularly beneficent and indulgent in his friendships. Notwithstanding, he made choice of such friends, that a man might easily discern that he looked out for such, whose friendship might be a furtherance to him, not an impediment to his designs. And whereas he

he was carried, both by nature and custom to this principle, not to be eminent among great men, but to command among vassals, he made mean and industrious men his friends, to whom he himself might be all in all. Hence grew that saying, "*So let Cæsar live, though I die;*" and other speeches of that kind. As for the nobility, and his equals, he contracted friendship with them according as they served his turn; but admitted none to his cabinet council, but those that had their fortunes wholly depending upon him.

HE was competently furnished with literature, such as chiefly contributed some thing to civil policy. For he was well versed in history, and understood wonderfully well the force and edge of words; and because he attributed much to his good stars, he affected to be thought skilful in astronomy. As for eloquence, that was natural to him, and pure.

HE was inclined to voluptuousness, and profuse in it; which served, at his first setting out, for a cover to his ambition. For

no one apprehended danger from such a disposition. Notwithstanding, he so governed his pleasures, that they were no disservice to him, nor prejudice to business, but rather whetted than blunted the vigour of his mind. He was temperate at his meals; free from niceness and curiosity in his amours; pleasant and magnificent at public interludes.

THUS accomplished, the same quality was the means of his downfall at last, which in his beginning was a step to his rise; that is, his affectation of popularity; for nothing is more popular, than to forgive enemies; through which, whither virtue or cunning, he lost his life.

A

CIVIL CHARACTER

O F

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR.

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, (if ever any mortal man) was endued with a greatness of mind, undisturbed, serene, and well-ordered: which is evidenced by the mighty achievements he performed in his early youth. For those that are of a turbulent disorderly nature, commonly pass their youth in various errors, and about their middle age, but not till then, they shew themselves: but those that are of a sedate and calm nature, may shine even in their first years.

AND whereas the faculties of the mind, no less than the advantages of the body, consist, and are accomplished in a certain health, beauty and strength; certain it is,
that

that in strength of mind he was inferior to his uncle *Julius*; in beauty and health superior. For the former, being of a restless uncomposed spirit, as those generally are who are troubled with the falling sickness, advanced, notwithstanding, to his own ends with the utmost prudence and conduct; though the ends themselves he did not order well; but with a boundless spring, aiming beyond the reach of a mortal man, was still carried on to further designs: whereas *Augustus*, being sober, and mindful of his mortality, seemed to have had his ends also schemed out in admirable order, and thoroughly well weighed. For first he was desirous to have the rule and principality in his hands: then he sought to make himself appear worthy of that height of power: next, he thought it but reasonable, according to the way of the world, to enjoy his exalted fortune: last of all, he turned his thoughts to such actions as might continue his memory, and leave an impression of his good government to after-ages. Therefore, in the beginning of his age, he affected power; in the middle of his age, dignity and worthiness;

things; in the decline of his years, pleasure; and in his old age, he was bent upon memory and posterity.

A
CIVIL CHARACTER
OF

KING HENRY VII.

THIS king, to speak of him in terms equal to his deserts, was a kind of miracle; a miracle of that sort which astonishes wise men, but does not much strike the ignorant and unexperienced. For he had many particulars, both in his virtues and in his fortune, not so fit for commonplace, as for wise and grave observation. Certainly, he was a pious and religious man, both in his affection and observance; but as he could see clearly enough for those times, through superstition: so he would be blinded

ed now and then by politic respects and counfels. He advanced churchmen, and was tender in the privilege of sanctuaries, though they wrought him so much mischief. He founded and endowed many religious houses, besides his memorable hospital of the *Savoy*. And yet he was a great almsgiver in secret; which evidently shews, that his works in public also were dedicated to God's glory, not his own. He professed always to love exceedingly and to seek peace to the utmost of his power: thus it was his usual preface in his treatises, "That
" when Christ came into the world, peace
" was sung by the angels; and when he
" went out of the world, the Lord him-
" self bequeathed it:" nor could this be imputed to fear, or softness in him, being valiant and warlike, but to a virtue truly christian and moral. Yet he knew the way to peace, was not to seem too desirous of it: therefore would he make rumours, and offers of war, till he had mended the conditions of peace. This also is worth noting, that being so great a lover of peace, he should be so lucky in war; for his arms and expeditions, whether in foreign or civil wars,

wars, were never unfortunate; neither did he know what a disaster meant. The war on his coming in, the rebellions of the Earl of *Lincoln*, and the Lord *Audley*, were ended by victory: the wars of *France* and *Spain* by peace, but peace sought at his hands; the war of *Bretagne*, by accident of the duke of *Bretagne's* death; the insurrection of the lord *Lovel*, and that of *Perkin* at *Exeter*, and in *Kent*, by flight of the rebels, before they came to blows: so that felicity in arms was peculiar to him, and still inviolate. A main reason whereof, as to the restraining intestine commotions was, no doubt, this, that in the quenching of them, he ever appeared in person. The beginning of the battle he would sometimes leave to his lieutenants, reserving himself to back and second them; but was ever in some part of the action. And yet that was not merely forwardness and gallantry in him, but partly distrust of others.

THE laws of the kingdom he ever held in great honour, and would be thought to maintain and countenance them by his own authority. Which was not the least

impediment to him in effecting his will. For he held the reins of the laws so dexterously, that neither revenue, nor prerogative, suffered any diminution. And yet he so attuned matters, that as he would sometimes draw, and in a manner strain up his laws to his prerogative, so would he also in turn designedly let down his prerogative to the equal and moderate level of the laws; for the disposition of the mint, his treaties and counsels of war and peace, and the administration of martial affairs, things of absolute power, he would many times refer to the debates and votes of parliament.

Justice was well and equally administered in his time, except where the king was party, and when the council-table intermeddled too much in the common causes of *meum* and *tuum*. For that council was then a mere court, and tribunal of justice, especially in the beginning of his reign. But certainly in that part of justice and policy, which is the durable part, and cut, as it were, in brass and marble, "the making of good laws," he excelled much.

AND

AND with his justice, he was also a merciful and clement prince. As in his reign there were but three of the nobility that suffered: the *Earl of Warwick*, the *Lord Chamberlain*, and the *Lord Audley*. Though the first two were instead of numbers, in the dislike and obloquy of the people. But there never were so great rebellions expiated with so little blood, drawn from the hand of justice, as the two famous rebellions of *Exeter* and *Blackheath*. As for the severity used upon those that landed in *Kent*, it was but upon the refuse of the people. His pardons went ever both before and after his sword. But then he had a strange kind of interchanging large and perfectly unexpected pardons, with severe executions. Which, considering the wisdom of so great a prince, could not be imputed to any inconstancy, or inequality; but either to some secret reason, which we do not know; or to a rule he had set himself, “to vary and try both ways in
“turn.”

BUT the less blood he drew, the more he took of treasure. And, as some maliciously enough construed it, he was the more spa-

ring in the one, that he might be the more pressing in the other ; for both would have been intolerable. Undoubtedly he was by nature inclined to accumulate treasure, and admired riches too much for one in his high sphere. The people, into whom there is infused, for the preservation of monarchies, a natural desire to excuse their princes, though it be often with the unjust charge of their counsellors and ministers, did impute this to *Cardinal Morton*, and *Reginald Bray*, counsellors ; which persons, notwithstanding, having a great sway from their antient authority and favour with him, did so second his humour, as nevertheless to temper it in some degree. Whereas, on the contrary, *Empsom* and *Dudley* that followed, being persons of no reputation with him, otherwise than by the servile following of his bent, did not give way only, but directed to those oppressions and enormities, for the extorting of money all manner of ways, for which both he himself was touched with remorse at his death, and which his successor renounced, and sought to purge and expiate. This excess of his had, at that time, many interpretations and glosses. Some were

were of opinion, that the continual rebellions, with which he had been vexed, made him grow into a hatred of his people : some thought it tended to depress their spirit, and keep them low. Some, that he desired to leave his son a golden fleece : others, in fine, that he had some secret design upon foreign parts. But those, perhaps, shall come nearer the truth, that fetch not their reasons so far off, but impute it to nature, years, peace, and a mind taken up with no other ambition or pursuit. To which I may add, that having every day occasion to take notice of the necessities and shifts for money of other princes, it did the better, by comparison, set off to him the felicity of full coffers.

As to the measure observed by him in expending of treasure, he kept to this rule ; never to spare charge when his affairs required. In his buildings he was magnificent, in his rewards strait-handed ; so that his liberality applied itself rather to those things that appertained to his own state, or memory, than to the rewarding of desert.

HE was of an high and exalted mind; a lover of his own opinion, and his own way; one that revered himself, and would reign in reality. Had he been a private man, doubtless he would have been termed proud: but in a wise prince, it was but keeping a just and due distance between himself and his subjects; which indeed he constantly did towards all; not admitting any to a near approach, either to his power, or to his secrets; for he was governed by none of his people. His consort, the queen, notwithstanding she had blessed him with divers fine children, and with a crown also, though he would not acknowledge it, could do little with him. His mother he revered indeed much, but seldom admitted her to a participation of his counsels. For any person agreeable to him for conversation, (such as was *Hastings* to king *Edward* the Fourth, or *Charles Brandon* after to *Henry* the Eighth) he had none; unless perchance we should account for such, bishop *Fox*, *Bray*, and *Empson*, because they were so much with him. But it was only as the instrument is with the workman. Vain-glory he had as little of as any prince whatever; yet so as to abate nothing

nothing of state and majesty, which he ever kept up to the height; being sensible that the reverence of majesty keeps the people in obedience; but vain-glory, if a man rightly considers the matter, prostitutes princes to popular breath.

To his confederates he was just and constant, yet close and cautious. Such was his enquiry into them, and such in the mean time, his own closeness and reservedness, that they stood in the light, as it were, towards him, and he stood in the dark to them. Yet without an appearance of strangeness, but rather with the semblance of one frankly and familiarly communicating his own business; and, on the other hand, inquisitive into their affairs.

As for little envies and emulations, which are wont to pass between princes, to the no small detriment of their own affairs, he had nothing of them in him; but went earnestly and substantially to his own business. Most certain it is, that though his reputation was great at home, yet it was still greater and more illustrious abroad. For foreigners,

that could not see the conduct, and particular passages of his affairs, but saw only the sums and issues of them, noted that he was ever in strife, and ever superior. It was partly occasioned also by the letters and relations of foreign ambassadors, which were attending the court in great number. To whom he gave content, not only by courtesy, reward, and familiar converse, but upon those conferences with them, put them in no small admiration, to find his universal insight into the affairs of *Europe*. Which, though he had chiefly drawn from the ambassadors themselves, and their informations; yet that which he had gathered from them all, seemed admirable to every one. So that they wrote ever to their superiors in high terms concerning his wisdom and art of rule. Nay, when they were returned to their countries, they frequently gave him intelligence, by letter, of all manner of affairs worth knowing. Such a dexterity he had in endearing himself to foreign ministers,

CERTAINLY he was careful, by all ways and means, to procure and obtain good intelligence

telligence from all parts. Wherein he did not only use the industry of foreign ministers residing here, and of his pensioners, which he kept both in the court of *Rome* and in other princes courts; but the vigilance of his own ambassadors also in foreign parts. For which purpose, his instructions were exact, even to curiosity, and in articles orderly digested; of which, generally, there were more touching inquisition than negotiation, requiring particular and articulate answers respectively to his questions.

As for his emissaries, which he secretly employed both at home and abroad, to discover what practices and conspiracies were against him; surely, in his case, was exceeding necessary: he had so many underground moles perpetually working to undermine him. Neither can this be held unlawful. For if spies are approved in war against lawful enemies, they are much more so against conspirators and traitors. But indeed to procure credit to such spies by oaths, and by execrations and anathemas thundered out against them as enemies, that cannot be well maintained; for those are
too

too holy vestments for a disguise. Yet that industry of his in employing emissaries had this good in it, that as many conspiracies were detected by the use of them, so the fame and suspicion of them kept, no doubt, many from being attempted.

As a husband, he was nothing uxorious, nor even indulgent; but courteous, companionable, and without jealousy. Towards his children also he was full of paternal affection, very careful of their education, aspiring also with a certain altitude of mind to their high advancement in marriage; regular to see that all honour and respect becoming their sublime quality should be paid them by every one, but not greatly desirous to cast any popular lustre upon them.

To his privy-council he referred most business, and sat often there in person; well knowing this to be the right way both to strengthen his authority and inform his judgment. To which end also he was patient of their liberty, as well in advising, as voting, till he had declared his own opinion, which

which he was wont to reserve to the end of the debates.

HE kept a strait hand upon his nobility, and chose rather to advance to his service clergymen and lawyers, who were more obsequious to him, and less gracious with the people; which made for his absoluteness, but not for his safety. Inasmuch, as I am fully persuaded, that this was a main cause of the frequent commotions that happened under his reign: for that the nobles of the realm, though they were loyal and obedient, yet did not co-operate with him chearfully; but left his desires rather to take their chance, than urged their accomplishment. He was never afraid of servants and ministers of more exalted parts and abilities, as *Louis* the Eleventh was. But, on the contrary, he made use of the most eminent men of his time; without which his affairs could not have prospered as they did. These were, for war, the duke of *Bedford*, the earls of *Oxford* and *Surrey*; baron *Daubeney*, and *Brook*; and *Poynings*, knight. For civil affairs, *Morton*, *Fox*, *Bray*, the prior of *Lanthony*, *Warham*, *Urfwick*, *Huffey*, *Frowick*,
and

and others. Neither did he care how crafty and cunning they were that he employed; for he thought himself to have the master-reach. And as he shewed great judgment in the choice of his ministers, so he used as much constancy in protecting those he had once chose. For it is a strange thing, that though he were a dark prince, excessively suspicious, and his times turbulent and full of conspiracies; yet, in twenty-four years reign he never put down, or discomposed counsellor, or near servant, save only *Stanley*, the lord chamberlain. As for the disposition of his subjects towards him, it stood thus with him; that of the three affections, which naturally tie the hearts of the subjects to their sovereigns, love, fear, and reverence; he had the last in height, the second in good measure, and so little of the first, as to be beholding for his security to the other two.

He was a prince, sad, serious, and thoughtful, and full of secret observations and cares; and one that had notes and memorials always ready by him in his own hand, especially touching persons who were fit to be employed,

employed, rewarded, consulted, and guarded against: who were also most nearly linked together, either by faction or good service; or such who had taken a decisive part; making and keeping a diary, in a manner, of his thoughts. There is to this day a merry tale, that his monkey (set on, as was thought, by one of his bed-chamber) tore his principal note-book, which was left out by chance, all to pieces. Whereat the court (which liked not that anxious diligence) were ready to burst with laughter.

BUT though he was full of apprehensions and suspicions, yet as he easily took them, so he easily discharged them, and made them yield to his judgment. Whence they were rather troublesome to himself, than dangerous to others. Yet it must be acknowledged, that his thoughts were so numerous, and so complicated, that they could not always stand together, but that which did good one way, did hurt another. Neither was it possible for him to be wise or happy, so much beyond the condition of mortals, as always to weigh things aright in their proportions. Certainly, the rumour that raised him so
many

many and so great troubles, that the Duke of *York* was saved, and still alive, did, at the beginning, get strength and credit from himself; being desirous of having it so thought, to the end of softening the imputation of his reigning in his own right, and not in the right of his wife.

He was affable, and both well and fair-spoken, and would use a remarkable sweetness and blandishment of words, where he desired to persuade, or effect any thing he took to heart. He was rather studious than learned; reading, for the most part, books that were written in the *French* tongue. Though he understood the *Latin*; as appears in that Cardinal *Hadrian*, and others, who were well enough acquainted with *French*, nevertheless always wrote to him in *Latin*.

For his pleasures, there is no news of them. And yet by his instructions to *Marfin* and *Stile*, touching the queen of *Naples*, it appears he could interrogate nicely touching beauty, and the parts thereof. He did by pleasures, as great men do by banquets, come and look a little upon them, and turn away.

away. For there never reigned a prince that was more entirely given up to his own affairs, which engaged his whole attention; infomuch, that at juffs, tournaments, and other mock-fights, masks, and fuch like afsemblies, he feemed to be rather a princely and gentle fpectator, than to be much taken or delighted with them.

No doubt, in him as in all men, (and moft of all in kings) his fortune wrought upon his nature, and his nature again upon his fortune. He afcended to the crown not only from a private fortune, which might endow him with moderation, but alfo from the fortune of an exiled man, which had given him the fpur of induftry and fagacity. And his times, being rather prosperous than calm, had raifed his confidence by fuccefs, but in the mean time had almoft marred his nature by perpetual vexations. His wifdom, by his often evading of perils, (which had taught him to truft to *extempore* remedies) was turned rather into a dexterity to extricate himfelf from evils, when they preffed him, than into a forefight to prevent and remove them afar off. And even in nature,
the

the eyes of his mind were not unlike the bodily eyes of some people, which are strong at hand, but weak at a distance. For his wit increased upon the occasion; and so much the more, if the occasion were sharpened by danger. And these influences his fortune had upon his nature; nor were there wanting, on the other hand, certain influences which his nature had upon his fortune. For whether it were the shortness of his foresight, the obstinacy of his will, or the dazzling of his suspicions, or what it was; certain it is, that the perpetual troubles of his fortune, (especially there being no violent occasion out of which they grew) could not have arisen without some great defects in his nature, and main errors in the radical constitution of his mind; which he had enough to do to palliate by a thousand little industries and arts. But those do best appear in the story itself. Nevertheless, take him with all his defects, if a man should compare him with the kings, in *France* and *Spain*, his contemporaries, he shall find him more politic than *Louis* the Twelfth of *France*, and more faithful and sincere than *Ferdinando* of *Spain*. But if you shall change
Louis

Louis the Twelfth for *Louis* the Eleventh, who reigned a little before; then the comparisons will be more just, and the parallels more true. For those three, *Louis* the Eleventh, *Henry*, and *Ferdinando*, may be esteemed as the three *Magi*, among the kings of that age. To conclude, if this king did no greater matters, it was owing to himself; for what he undertook, he compassed.

HE was a comely personage, a little above just stature, well and strait limbed, but slender. His countenance was such as struck a reverence, and resembled a little the aspect of a church-man. And as it was not dark or supercilious, so neither was it winning or pleasing; but as the face of one composed and sedate in mind: but it was not to the advantage of the painter, for it was best when he spoke.

THE extraordinary worth of this prince, will bear a story or two, that may put upon him something divine. When the lady *Margaret*, his mother, a woman of rare virtues, had divers suitors for marriage, she dreamed one night, that one in the likeness

of a bishop, in pontifical habit, did tender her *Edmund* earl of *Richmond*, (the king's father) for her husband. Neither had she ever any child but the king, though she had three husbands. Upon a certain festival day also, when *Henry* the Sixth (whose innocence gave him holiness) was washing after dinner, and cast his eye upon king *Henry*, then a youth, he said, "This is the lad that shall at last possess quietly the crown that we now strive for." But what may be truly thought divine in him was, that he had the fortune of a true christian, as well as of a great king; in living, exercised, and dying, repentant. So as he triumphed victoriously, as well in spirituals as temporals; and had an happy warfare in the two conflicts, both of sin and the cross.

HE was born at *Pembroke Castle*, and lies buried at *Westminster*, in one of the stateliest monuments of *Europe*, both for the chapel, and for the sepulchre. So that he dwells more richly dead, in the monument of his tomb, than he did alive, either at *Richmond*, or in any other of his palaces. I could wish he did the like in this monument of his fame.

A COL-

A
COLLECTION
OF THE
FELICITIES
OF
QUEEN ELIZABETH.

QUEEN *Elizabeth*, both in point of nature, and fortune, was admirable amongst women, and memorable among princes. But this is not a subject that requires the pen of a monk, or any such cloistered censor. For these men are keen in stile, but wanting in judgment; and perform the scholar's part well, but transmit things but unfaithfully to posterity. Certainly, this is a knowledge peculiar to men of the first rank, and to such as have sat at the helms of great kingdoms, and have been acquainted with the difficulties and secrets of civil business.

B b a RARE

RARE in all ages has been the reign of a woman, more rare the felicity in her reign; but most rare, a long continuance joined with that felicity. As for this lady, she reigned four and forty years compleat; and yet she did not survive her felicity. Of this I have proposed to say somewhat, yet without any excursion into praises. For praises are the tribute of men, but felicity the gift of God.

FIRST, I reckon it as a part of her felicity, that she was advanced to the regal throne, from a private fortune. For this is deeply planted in the nature and opinions of men, to look upon those things which come unhop'd, unlook'd for, as a greater felicity. But this is what I intend; that princes, that have been trained up in the family royal, and to an undoubted hope of succession, are corrupted by an indulgent licentious education, and become generally both less capable, and less governable and moderate in their affections. And therefore you shall find those to have been the best and most excellent kings, that were tutored by both fortunes. Such was king *Henry* the Seventh, and *Louis* the Twelfth; both which, about the same time, came to their crowns,
not

not only from a private, but also from an adverse and afflicted fortune; and did excel, the former in prudence, the other in justice. Much like was the condition of this princess also; whose beginning and hopes fortune chequered, that in her reign she might be constant and steady to her. For queen *Elizabeth* was entitled from her birth to the succession, afterwards disinherited, then laid aside and slighted: during the reign of her brother, her fortune was more propitious and serene; during the reign of her sister, more tempestuous and hazardous. Neither yet did she pass immediately from the prison to the crown, so as to be soured and exasperated by her misfortune, and to swell upon it; but being restored to her liberty, and still growing in her expectations, thus at last she obtained the crown without noise or competitor, in a most happy calm. And these things I mention, to shew that Divine Providence designing a most excellent princess, did, by such degrees of discipline, prepare and advance her. Neither ought the misfortune of her mother to sully the lustre of her birth; since it is sufficiently evident, that king *Henry* the Eighth was inflamed

with a new amour, before he was enraged against queen *Anne*; and the nature of that king passes not uncensured by posterity, as exceeding prone to amours and jealousies, and violent in both, even to the effusion of blood. Add to this, that she was circumvented by an accusation, not probable, even as to the very person to whom it referred, and built upon the weakest conjectures; which was both secretly whispered at the very time, and which queen *Anne* herself protested, with an undaunted greatness of mind, and by a memorable speech at the instant of her death. For having got (as she supposed) a faithful and friendly messenger, in the same hour, when she was preparing for death, she sent this message to the king;

“ That his Majesty did excellently observe,
“ and constantly keep to his purpose, in
“ heaping upon her new honours: for first,
“ he had raised her from the estate of a gentlewoman only, and no way pretending to
“ noble titles, to the honour of a marchioness; next, had taken her into a partnership both of his kingdom and bed;
“ and now, that there remained no higher
“ earthly honour, he meant to exalt her in-
“ nocence

“nocence to a crown of martyrdom.” But the messenger did not dare to carry this to the king, who was inflamed with another amour; however, fame, the asserter of truth, conveyed it to posterity.

NOR do I take it to be an inconsiderable part of the felicity of queen *Elizabeth*, even the measure, and the very race, as it were, and course of her reign: not only for that it was long, but because it fell into that season of her life, which was fittest for governing, and for the swaying of a sceptre. For beginning her reign at twenty-five, (at which age the curatorship ends) she continued it to the seventieth year of her age. So that she neither experienced the detriment attending minority, and the checks of another’s power; nor, on the other hand, the inconveniencies of an extreme and impotent old age; for that is attended with miseries enough, even in private men; but to kings, over and above the ordinary evils of age, it occasions also a declension in the state they govern, and an inglorious *exit*. For there has scarce been a king, that has lived to extreme old age, but he hath suffered in his

power and esteem. Of this we have a very eminent instance in *Philip* the Second king of *Spain*, a most puissant prince, and excellently skilled in the art of governing; who in his latter days, and feeble age, was thoroughly sensible of this whereof we speak: and therefore, with the highest prudence, submitted to the condition of things; voluntarily quitted his conquests in *France*, established a firm peace in that kingdom, and attempted the like in other places; that so he might leave things quiet and entire to his successors. On the contrary, queen *Elizabeth*'s fortune was so constant and firmly rooted, that no declension of affairs followed her still vigorous, though declining years: nay more, for an undeniable token of her felicity, she died not till the rebellion in *Ireland* was fully ended by a victory there; lest her glory might appear any way disfigured and incomplete. Besides, the sort of people, over whom she reigned, I take to be a matter worthy to be considered. For had her lot fallen among the *Palmyrens*, or in soft and unwarlike *Asia*, it had been a less wonder; since a female prince would have suited an effeminate people: but in *England*, a most
stout

stout and warlike nation, for all things to be directed, and kept in subjection by the nod of a woman, is a thing deserving the highest admiration.

NEITHER did this inclination of her people, greedy of war, and hardly patient of peace, hinder her from maintaining and preserving peace all her reign. And this inclination of her's, joined with success, I reckon to be one of her chiefest praises. This was happy for her times, becoming her sex, and comfortable to her conscience. About the tenth year of her reign, there was a small attempt of a commotion in the northern parts, but it was presently suppressed and extinguished. The rest of her reign flourished in a domestic peace, and that a secure and profound one. Now I judge it a most flourishing peace, for two reasons, which make nothing for the merit of the peace, but very much for the glory of it. The one, that it was rendered the more conspicuous and illustrious, by the calamities of our neighbours, as so many shining flames: the other, that the blessings of peace were not unattended with the honour of arms; since

since she not only preserved, but advanced the renown of the *English* name for arms and military prowess, by many glorious achievements. For both the supplies sent into the *Netherlands*, *France* and *Scotland*; and the expeditions made by sea into the *Indies*; some of them made round the whole compass of the globe of the earth; the fleets sent into *Portugal*, and to annoy the coasts of *Spain*; and the *Irish* rebels so often cut off and conquered, allowed of no remission or decay, either in the warlike virtue of our nation, or diminution in the fame thereof.

It was likewise a deserved addition to her glory, both that neighbouring kings were maintained on their thrones by her timely succours; and that suppliant states, which, by the unadvisedness of their kings, were abandoned, and, in a manner, devoted to the cruelty of their ministers, to the fury of the multitude, and to all manner of butchery and desolation, received an alleviation of their miseries from her; by means whereof they subsist unto this day. Nor was she a princess, less beneficent and salutary

tary by her counfels, than by her fuccours; as one who had fo often interceded with the king of *Spain*, to mitigate his wrath againft his fubjects in the *Netherlands*, and to reduce them to his obedience, upon fome tolerable conditions: and that had, with great fincerity, importuned the kings of *France* by perpetual and repeated admonitions, to obferve their own edicts, promifing peace to their fubjects. I deny not but her advice proved ineffectual: for as to the firft, the common fate of *Europe* allowed not of it; left haply the ambition of *Spain*, freed, as it were, from its barriers, fhould fly out (as things then flood) to the prejudice of the kingdoms and ftates of *Chriftendom*: and for the latter, the blood of fo many innocents, with their wives and children, fhed at their fire-fides, and in their chambers, by the fcum of the people, like fo many furious beafts heartened, and armed and let loofe upon them by public authority, would not fuffer it; which blood required, in vengeance, that a kingdom, rendered obnoxious to punifhment by fo horrible an impiety, fhould be expiated by intestine flauhters and maf facres. She nevertheless, however

it succeeded, performed the part both of a wise and loving confederate.

THERE is another reason also for admiring this peace, which was so much fought and maintained by the queen: and it is this, that it did not proceed from any bent or inclination of the times, but from her prudence, and discreet management of things. For whereas she had both an inbred faction, upon the account of religion, to struggle with at home, and that the strength and protection of this kingdom was a kind of bulwark to all *Europe* against the then formidable and extravagant ambition and power of the king of *Spain*, there wanted no matter of war; yet what with her forces and her policy, she surmounted these difficulties. This was demonstrated by an event, the most memorable of any that has happened in the whole course of affairs of our age, if we consider the felicity thereof. For when the *Spanish* armada, with so much bravery, and to the terror of all *Europe*, big with expectation, and with so much assurance of victory, furrowed our seas, it took not so much as one poor cock-boat of ours, nor
fired

fired any one village, nor so much as touched upon our coast: but being defeated in an engagement, was dispersed by a miserable flight, and by frequent wrecks, and so left *England* and her coasts in the enjoyment of an unmoved and undisturbed peace.

NOR was she less happy in escaping the treacheries of conspirators, than in subduing and defeating the forces of her open enemies. For not a few plots against her life were most fortunately both discovered, and disappointed. Nor did she, upon this account, lead a more fearful and anxious life; there was no increase of her guards; no confining herself to her palace, and appearing but seldom in public; but fearless and assured, and more mindful of her deliverance than her danger, she altered nothing of her usual customs and ways of living.

It is likewise worthy our observation, to consider the nature of the times wherein she flourished. For some ages are so barbarous and ignorant, that men are as easily governed as herds of cattle, or flocks of sheep. But this princess happened to live in a most
learned

learned and polite age ; in which it was not possible to be eminent without the greatest endowments of wit, and a singular cast of virtue. Again, the reigns of women are, for the most part, eclipsed by their marriages, and all the praise of their acts goes to their husbands. But those that live unmarried have the whole glory appropriated to themselves. And this is more peculiarly the case of this princess, because she had no props or supports of her government, but those that were of her own making ; she had no brother by the same mother ; no uncle, nor any other of the royal family that might be partner in her cares, and an upholder of her government : nay, and for those whom herself had advanced to posts of honour, she both kept such a strict hand upon them, and so mixed and shuffled them together, that she cast into each of them the greatest solicitude and concern to please, and was ever mistress of herself. Childless indeed she was, and left no issue of her body behind her : which has been the case also of many of the most fortunate princes, of *Alexander the Great*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Trajan*, and others ; and which is a point that has been variously

variously bandied, and is usually disputed and argued contrary ways; while some take it as a diminution of felicity, lest perchance they might be too happy for the condition of mortals, if they were blessed both in their own persons, and in the propagation of their species; and others accounting it as the crown and perfection of felicity; that felicity alone seeming to be compleat, over which fortune has no more power; which, if we leave children behind us, can never be.

SHE had also external gifts; a tall stature, a good shape, an extraordinary majesty of aspect, joined with sweetness, a most happy state of health. Besides all this, she was strong and vigorous to the very last, never experienced the changes of fortune, nor the miseries of old age, and obtained that *euthanasia*, which *Augustus Cæsar* used so passionately to desire, by a gentle and easy exit. This is also recorded of *Antoninus Pius*, that excellent emperor, whose death had the resemblance of a sweet and gentle slumber. So likewise in the distemper of queen *Elizabeth*, there was nothing shocking, nothing ominous, nothing unusual to human nature.

nature. She was not tormented with desire of life, with impatience under sickness, nor with racking pains. She had no desire of foul symptom; but all things were of that kind, as did argue rather the frailty, than the corruption or disgrace of nature. For some few days before her death, being wasted by an extreme dryness of body, and those cares that attend a crown; and being never moistened with wine, or with a full and plentiful diet, she was struck with a torpor and stiffness in her nerves, notwithstanding (which is not usual in that distemper) she retained her speech, memory, and motion, though but slow and dull. And in this condition she continued but a few days; so that it did not seem to be the last act of her life, but as it were the first step to her death. For to live long after our faculties are impaired, is accounted miserable; but by a slumber gradually laying asleep the sense, to hasten death, is a fair and easy conclusion of life. I throw in this also, to make up the full measure of her felicity; that she was exceeding happy, not only in her own person, but in the abilities and virtues also of her ministers of state.

FOR

For she had the fortune to light upon such persons, as perhaps this island never before produced. But God, when he favours princes, raises up and adorns the spirits of their ministers also.

THERE remain two posthumous felicities, which are in a manner more noble and august than those that attended her living: the one of her successor, the other of her memory. For she has got such a successor, who, though he may exceed and eclipse her greatness, both by his masculine virtues, and his issue, and by a new accession of empire; yet is zealous of her name and glory, and gives a kind of perpetuity to her acts; having made little change either as to the choice of persons, or in the method of governing: so that a son rarely succeeds a father with so much silence, and with so little alteration and disturbance.

As for her memory, it is so much in the mouths, and so fresh in the minds of men, that envy being extinguished, and her fame grown illustrious by death, the felicity of her memory seems in a manner, to vie with

that of her life. For if there be any factious fame, arising either from party, or difference in religion, flying abroad, and which even now seems faint through fear, and overpowered by the consentient voice of her praise, having no foundation on truth, cannot be long-lived.

AND for this cause especially, have I made this collection (such as it is) touching her felicity, and the marks of God's favour towards her; that no malicious person might dare to curse, where God has so highly blessed: nor should any one make the same reply here, as one did formerly to *Cæsar*; "We have matter enough for admiration, but would fain see something to praise." For I am of opinion, that true admiration is a superlative degree of praise. Neither can that felicity, that we have been describing, be the portion of any, but such a one as is remarkably supported and cherished by the divine favour; and that has, in some measure also, carried out the same fortune to himself by his own morals and virtues. Notwithstanding I have thought good to add a word concerning the moral part; yet only

only in those things, which have given occasion some for to traduce her.

THE queen, as to her religion, was pious, moderate, constant, and an enemy to novelty. And for her piety, though the marks of it are most conspicuous in her acts and administrations, yet were there visible strokes of it, both in the course of her life, and in her ordinary conversation. She was seldom absent from divine service, and other duties of religion, either in her chapel, or closet. She was very conversant in the scriptures, and writings of the fathers, especially *St. Augustine*. She composed certain prayers herself upon some emergent occasions. Whenever she mentioned the name of God, though in ordinary discourse, she generally added the name of Creator; and composed both her eyes and countenance to some sort of humility and reverence; which I myself have often observed.

As for what some have given out, that she was altogether unmindful of her mortality, to the degree of not being able to bear the mention of old age or death, it is absolutely

false ; since she herself several years before her death, would frequently with much facetiousness, call herself “ the old woman ;” and would discourse about what kind of epitaph she liked ; saying, that she was no lover of glorious and pompous titles, but only desired her memory might be recorded in a line or two, which should compendiously express only her name, her virginity, the time of her reign, the reformation of religion, and her preservation of peace. It is true, in the flower of her age, and before she was called upon to declare her successor, she made answer, “ That she could by no means endure to have a shroud held before her eyes while she was living.” Notwithstanding, some years before her death, at a time when she was full of thought, and probably meditating upon her mortality, one of her familiars mentioning in conversation, that divers great offices and places in the state were kept void too long ; she rose up, and said with more than ordinary heat, “ That she was sure her place would not be long void.”

As

As to her moderation in religion, there we are at a stand, because of the severity of those laws against her subjects of the *Romish* religion: but we will mention such things as are both well known to, and were carefully observed by us. Most certain it is, that this princess was in her sentiments averse from offering any force to consciences: yet, on the other hand, would not suffer the state of her kingdom to be endangered under the pretence of conscience and religion. From this ground she concluded, first, that to allow a liberty and toleration of two religions by public authority in a bold and haughty nation, and that might easily fall from disagreement in judgment to arms and blows, would be most certain destruction. Again, when her reign was young, and all things looked with a suspicious face, she kept some of the prelates, who were of a more turbulent and factious spirit, prisoners at large, but not without the warrant of the law: as for the rest, of both orders, she was not troublesome to them by any severe inquisition, but a protection to them by a generous connivance. And this was the posture of affairs at first.

Nor did she abate any thing almost of this clemency, though provoked by the excommunication of *Pius Quintus*, (which might have raised her indignation, and have been the occasion of new measures: but still she retained her own generous temper. For this most wise and magnanimous lady was not in the least moved with the noise of these terrible threats; being secure of the fidelity and affection of her subjects, and of the inability of the Popish faction within the kingdom to do her any hurt, unless seconded by a foreign enemy.

BUT about the three and twentieth year of her reign the face of affairs was changed. Nor was this distinction of the times artificially feigned, to serve a turn, but it is expressed in the public records, and engraven, as it were, in brass. For, before that year, none of her subjects of the *Romish* religion had been punished with any severity by the laws formerly enacted. But at this time it was, that the ambitious and vast designs of *Spain* to conquer this kingdom, began by degrees to be discovered. A principal part of which was, by all ways and means, to raise

raise a faction in the heart of the kingdom, of such as were ill-affected to the state, and desirous of innovation, who might join the enemy upon his invasion.

THEIR hopes of this were grounded upon the difference there was in religion. Therefore they resolved to labour that point with all their might; and the seminaries at that time budding, priests were sent into *England*, to raise up and disperse a love for the *Romish* religion; to teach and inculcate the power of the Pope's excommunication, in freeing subjects from their allegiance, and to awaken and prepare the minds of men to an expectation of a change of government.

ABOUT the same time, both *Ireland* was attempted by an invasion, and the name and government of *Queen Elizabeth* vilified and traduced by sundry scandalous libels; in short, there was an unusual ferment in the state, the prognostic of a greater commotion. Yet I will not affirm, that all the priests were taken into a participation of the plot, or were privy to the design carrying on, but only that they were the wicked in-

struments of other men's malice. However, this is true, and witnessed by the confession of many, that almost all the priests, that were sent into this kingdom from the year beforementioned, even to the thirtieth year of Queen *Elizabeth*, wherein the design of *Spain* and the *Pope* was put in execution, by that memorable preparation of a fleet and land-forces, had this also in their instructions, among the other parts of their function, to insinuate, “ That it was impossible affairs should continue long in that posture; that a new face of things, and a thorough change, would be seen ere long; that both the pope and catholic princes are concerned for the *English* state, provided they are not their own hinderance.”

AGAIN, some of the priests had manifestly engaged themselves in the plots and contrivances, which tended to the undermining and subversion of the state; and which was the strongest proof, the whole train of the plot was discovered by letters intercepted from divers parts, wherein was written, “ That the vigilancy of the Queen and her council,

“ council, touching the catholics, would
 “ be baffled ; for that the Queen had an eye
 “ to this only, least any nobleman, or per-
 “ son of distinction, might arise to head
 “ the catholic faction ; whereas the design
 “ they laid was of this nature, that all
 “ things should be disposed and prepared by
 “ private men and of an inferior rank, and
 “ that too without conspiring or conferring
 “ with one another, in the secret way of
 “ confession.” And these were the artifi-
 ces which were then used, and which are
 so familiar and customary to that order of
 men, as might be seen also in a like parallel
 case.

IN so great a storm of dangers, the Queen
 was obliged, by the laws of necessity, to
 restrain and tie up those of her subjects,
 who were disaffected to her, and rendered
 incurable, as it were, by these poisons, and
 who, in the mean time, began to grow rich
 by their retired living, and exemption from
 the charge and burthen of public offices, by
 the bands of some severer laws. The
 evil daily growing, and the origin thereof
 being charged upon the seminary priests,
 who

who had been bred in foreign parts, and were supported by the bounty and benevolence of foreign princes, the professed enemies of this realm; and had lived in places where the very name of Queen *Elizabeth* was never heard but with the titles of *heretic*, *excommunicated*, and *accursed*; and who, though they themselves were not engaged in treasonable practices, yet were known to be the intimate friends of such as had set their hand to villanies of that kind; and who, by their artifices, and poisonous insinuations, had corrupted and soured the whole mass and body of the catholics, which before was more sweet and harmless, and had infected it with a new kind of leaven, and pernicious malignity; so that there could be found, no other remedy but by forbidding such persons all manner of entrance into this kingdom, upon pain of death; which at last, in the twenty seventh year of her reign, was accordingly enacted.

NOR did the event itself, some little time after, when so mighty a storm broke upon this kingdom, and had lain upon it with all its weight, in the least take off from the
envy

envy and hatred of those men ; but rather encreased it ; as if they had divested themselves of all affection to their country. And afterwards indeed, though our fears of *Spain* (which were the occasion of this severity) were over, or abated at least ; yet both, considering that the memory of the former times was deeply fixed in the minds and imaginations of men, and that it would have looked like inconstancy, to have abrogated the laws already made, or remissness, to have neglected them ; the very constitution and nature of affairs suggested to the Queen, that she could not safely return to the former state of things, that had been before the three and twentieth year of her reign.

To this may be added, the industry of some to increase the revenues of the Exchequer, and the concern of the ministers of justice, who are wont to consider or regard no other safety of their country, but what consists in the laws ; both which required and called loudly for the laws to be put in execution. However the Queen, as a manifest specimen of her nature, did
so

so far blunt the edge of the laws, that but a few priests, considering the number, suffered death. Nor do we speak this by way of defence, for these matters stand in need of none ; since both the safety of the kingdom turned upon this, and the method and measure of all this severity was far short of those bloody massacres, that are scarce fit to be named among Christians, and such too as have proceeded, rather from arrogance and malice, than from necessity, in the Catholic countries. But being mindful of our assertion, we think we have made it out, that she was moderate in the point of religion, and that the change which happened, was not owing to her nature, but to the necessity of the times.

Of her constancy in religion, and the observance thereof, the greatest proof is, That notwithstanding the *Romish* religion had, in her sister's reign, been greatly established by public authority, and abundance of care, that it began now to strike deep root, and was confirmed by the consent and zeal of all that were in offices and great places in the state ; yet because it was not agreeable to the
word

word of God, to the primitive purity, not to her own conscience, she did, with a great deal of courage, and with very few helps, extirpate and abolish it. Nor did she do this precipitately or in a heat, but prudently and seasonably. And this may be conjectured, as from many other particulars, so by a certain answer of her's, occasionally made. For upon her first accession to the throne, when, as a good omen, and gratulation of the new reign, the prisoners (according to custom) were released, as she was going to chapel, she was accosted by a certain courtier; who, from nature and a custom of jesting, had assumed to himself a more than ordinary freedom: and he, whether of his own motion, or set on by a wiser head, delivered a petition into her hand, and in a great concourse of people, expressed himself thus: " That there were still
 " four or five kept prisoners, and that for
 " no reason at all; that he came to petition
 " for their liberty, as well as for the rest;
 " those were the four Evangelists, and also
 " the apostle *St. Paul*, who had been long
 " confined in an unknown tongue, as in a
 " prison, and were not suffered to converse
 " with

“ with the people.” The Queen answered with great prudence, “ That it was best to consult them first, whether they were willing to have their freedom, or no.” And thus she met a surprising question with a wary, doubtful answer ; reserving, as it were, the whole matter entirely in her own power.

Nor yet did she introduce this alteration timorously, and by fits and starts ; but orderly, gravely, and maturely ; after a conference betwixt the parties, and the calling and conclusion of a parliament ; and thus at last, and that too within the compass of one revolving year, she so ordered and established all things belonging to the church, that she did not suffer the least tittle of them to be altered, during her whole life. Nay, at almost every meeting of parliament, her public admonition was, that no innovation might be made in the discipline or rites of the church. And thus much of her religion.

Now, should any of the graver sort aggravate these levities, that she suffered herself,

self, and loved to be admired and courted, nay, and to have love-verses made in her praise; and that she continued these things longer than was decent for her years; yet, if you take even these matters in a milder sense, they are not without their due admiration; since they are such things as are often to be found in fabulous narrations; as of a certain queen in the Fortunate Islands, in whose court love-making was allowed, but lasciviousness banished: but if a harsher construction be put upon it, ever *so* they are to be admired, and that ~~very~~ highly too, since these dalliances did not much eclipse her fame, and not at all her majesty; neither relaxed her government, nor were observed to be any hindrance to her affairs: for those sorts of things frequently mix with a public fortune, and clash with business.

BUT to conclude this essay: This princess was certainly good and moral; and as such she desired to appear: she hated vice, and studied to grow famous by honourable courses. And indeed upon the naming of her morals, something comes into my mind to mention. When she had ordered an ex-
press

press to be written to her ambassador, concerning certain instructions, which he was privately to impart to the Queen-Mother, of the House of *Valois*; and that her secretary had inserted a certain clause, that the ambassador, to ingratiate himself, as it were, should say, "That they were two female
" princes, from whom, for experience, and
" for the skill and arts of government, there
" was no less expected, than from the
" greatest men." She could not bear the comparison, but ordered it to be struck out, and said, "That she used quite different
" arts and methods of government."

SHE was also not a little pleased, if any one by chance had dropped such an expression as this, "That though she had spent
" her days in a private and mean station,
" yet she could not have passed her life
" without some excellence in the eye of the
" world." So unwilling was she that any of her virtue and praise should be owing to the grandeur of her fortune.

BUT if I should enter upon her praises, whether moral or political, I must either

fall into certain common places and commemorations of virtues, which would be unworthy so rare a princess; or if I would give them their proper lustre and grace, I must run out into a history of her life, which requires both more leisure, and a richer and more copious vein. For I have given you here but a short account, according to my ability. But, to speak truth, the only proper encomiast of this lady is *time*; which, for as many ages as are past, has produced nothing like her, of the same sex, for the administration of a state.

P A R A B L E S

OF

S O L O M O N,

Explained, and culled out of the Book of PROVERBS, for an Example of that Wisdom which is to be exercised in Business, upon various Occasions.

[Translated from his Lordship's Eighth Book, *De Aug. Scientiarum*, Chap. 2.]

P A R A B L E I.

“ A SOFT answer turneth away wrath.”
Prov. xv. 1.

THE EXPLICATION.

IF the wrath of a prince, or a superior, be kindled against you, and it now be your turn to speak, *Solomon* gives two rules: one, “ That an answer be made:” The other, “ That the same be soft.” The former contains three precepts: first, that you “ be ware of a sad and fullen silence;” for that either charges the fault wholly upon yourself, as if you had nothing to say in justification;

justification; or covertly impeaches your master of injustice, as if his ears were not open to a defence, though just. Secondly, that you “beware of delaying and putting off the thing,” and that you do not crave further time to give in your defence; for this either fixes the same imputation with the former, which is, that your lord and master is excessive passionate; or plainly signifies, that you are meditating some artificial apology, seeing you have nothing ready: so that it is ever the best way to say something in your defence instantly, as the present occasion shall suggest. Thirdly, that by all means “an answer be made;” an answer, I say; not a mere confession, but let there be a sprinkling of apology and excuse: for it is not safe to do otherwise, unless with very generous and noble dispositions; which are exceeding rare. It follows, in the next place, that the answer be soft and placid.

PARAB. II. “A wise servant shall have rule over a son that causeth shame; and shall divide the inheritance among the brethren.” *Prov. xvii. 2.*

EXPLIC. In every troubled and disagreeing family, there ever arises up some servant or humble friend, who, being powerful with both sides, may moderate and compose the differences that are among them; and to whom, in that respect, the whole family, and the master himself, are obnoxious. This man, if he aim at his own ends only, cherishes and aggravates the divisions of the family; but if he be truly faithful and upright, certainly he is very deserving; so that he ought to be reckoned even as one of the brethren; or at least to receive a fiduciary administration of the inheritance.

PARAB. III. “If a wise man contends with a fool, whether he be in anger or in jest, there is no quiet.” *Prov. xxix. 9.*

EXPLIC. We are often admonished to avoid an unequal encounter; in this sense, “not to contend with persons stronger than ourselves.” But it is a no less profitable instruction, which *Solomon* here sets down, “not to contend with a worthless person.” For such a business is usually transacted upon very disadvantageous terms.

To

To overcome, is no victory ; but to be overcome, a foul disgrace. Nor does it avail, in the waging a contest of that nature, to deal sometimes by way of jest, sometimes with disdain and contempt. For which way soever we turn ourselves, we shall lose thereby, nor shall we bring ourselves off handsomely. But the worst of all is, if the person, with whom we contend, as *Solomon* speaks, has somewhat of the fool in him ; that is, if he be confident and headstrong.

PARAB. IV. “ Lend not an ear to all words that are spoken, lest perchance thou hear thy servant curse thee.” *Eccles. vii. 21.*

EXPLIC. It is hardly credible what disturbance is created in life by unprofitable curiosity, about those things which concern our personal interest ; that is, when we make a scrupulous enquiry after such secrets, which, once disclosed and found out, do but cause disquiet of mind, and conduce nothing to the advancing of our designs. As, first, there follows vexation and uneasiness of mind ; all human affairs being full of treachery and ingratitude ; so that if

there could be procured some magical glass, wherein we might behold the hatred and malicious contrivances stirring up against us; it would be better that such a glass were forthwith thrown away and broken in pieces. For things of this nature are like the whispering of leaves, and soon vanish. Secondly, This curiosity loads the mind too much with suspicions, which is a capital enemy to counsels, and renders them inconstant and perplexed. Thirdly, This same curiosity very often fixes the mischiefs themselves, which would otherwise pass by us, and fly away. For it is a dangerous matter to irritate men's consciences; who, if they think themselves undiscovered, are easily changed for the better; but if once they find themselves unmasked, drive out one mischief by another. Wherefore it was deservedly reckoned the highest wisdom in *Pompey the Great*, that he instantly burnt all *Sertorius's* papers, unperused by himself, nor suffered them to be seen by others.

PARAB. V. "Thy Poverty shall come
" as a traveller, and thy want as an armed
" man." *Prov. vi. 11.*

EXPLIC. IT is elegantly described in this parable, after what manner prodigals, and such as are careless of their estates, are surprized with the shipwreck of their fortunes. For debt and diminution of stock comes upon them at first, step by step, and with soft paces, like a traveller, and is hardly perceived: but soon after want invades them like an armed man; that is, with so strong and potent an arm, that there is no resisting it any longer; it being rightly said by the ancients, "That of all things necessity was the strongest." Wherefore we must prevent the traveller, and be well provided against the armed man.

PARAB. VI. "HE that instructs a scorner, procures to himself reproach; and he that reprehends a wicked man, procures to himself a stain." *Prov. ix. 7.*

EXPLIC. THIS agrees with our Saviour's precept, "That we cast not our pearls

“before swine.” But in this parable the actions of instruction and of reprehension are distinguished. The persons likewise of a scorner, and of a wicked man, are distinguished. Lastly, that which is retaliated, is distinguished. For in the former part, loss of labour is repaid; in the latter, even a stain too. For when a man instructs and teaches a scorner, first there is a loss of time: then others also deride his attempt as a fruitless thing, and a labour ill placed: last of all, the scorner himself disdains the knowledge which he has learned. But the matter is transacted with greater danger in the reprehension of the wicked: for a wicked nature not only gives no ear to advice, but turns head against his reprehender, now made odious unto him, and either wounds him with present reproaches, or at least traduces him afterwards to others.

PARAB. VII. “A wise son is the gladness of his father; but a foolish son is the sadness of his mother.” *Prov. x. 1.*

EXPLIC. THE domestic comforts and uneasinesses of father and mother, touching their
their

their children are here distinguished. For a wise and well-governed son is chiefly a comfort to the father, who knows the value of virtue better than the mother: and therefore more rejoices at his son's towardness: yea, and it may be his education of him, that he hath brought him up so well, and implanted in him honesty of manners, by precept and example, is a joy unto him. On the other side, the mother sympathized more with, and is more grieved at the calamity of a son, both because the affection of a mother is more soft and tender, as likewise from a consciousness of her indulgence, whereby she hath tainted and corrupted his tender years.

PARAB. VIII. "The memory of the just
" is blest; but the name of the wicked shall
" putrify." *Prov. x. 7.*

EXPLIC. HERE is a distinction between the fame of good, and of bad men, such as it is accustomed to be after death. For the name of good men, after envy is extinguished, (which cropped the blossom of their fame while they were alive) presently shoots
out

out and flourishes, and their praises daily increase in strength and vigour : but for wicked men, (though their fame, through the partial favour of friends, and men of their faction, may last for a little time) or detestation of their name soon after springs up; and at last those transient praises of theirs end in infamy, and exhale, as it were, in a filthy and noisome odour.

PARAB. IX. “ He that troubles his own house shall inherit the wind.” *Prov. xi. 9.*

EXPLIC. A very profitable admonition touching discords and domestic breaches : for abundance of people promise themselves great matters, by the divorcement of wives, the disinheriting of sons, or the frequent changing of servants ; as if thereby they were to gain either tranquillity of mind, or a happier administration of their affairs. But commonly their hopes turn to wind. For as those alterations, generally speaking, are not for the better ; so these disturbers of their own family, oftentimes meet with many vexations, and ingratitude from the very persons, whom, in exclusion of others, they

they adopt and chuse. Nay, by this means they draw upon themselves ill rumours and doubtful reports: for it is well noted by *Cicero*, *Omnem famam a domesticis manare*, "That all reports spring from domestics." Now both these evils *Salomon* elegantly expresses by "the inheritance of winds:" for the frustrating of expectation, and raising of rumours, are rightly compared to the winds.

PARAB. X. "Better is the end of a speech, than the beginning thereof." *Eccles.* vii. 8.

EXPLIC. This parable corrects a very common error, not only in those that study words chiefly; but in the more wise also. It is this, that men are more solicitous about the entrance and ingress of their discourses, than about the close of them: and more exactly meditate the exordiums and prefaces, than the conclusions of their speeches. But they should neither neglect those, and have these, as far more material, ready prepared and digested, about them; revolving with themselves, and as far as possible fore-casting in their minds, what may be the issue at last
of

of their speech, and how business may be promoted and matured thereby. Nor is this all. They ought not to study epilogues only, and conclusions of speeches, that are pertinent to the business itself: but also care should be taken of such speeches too, as may aptly and pleasantly be cast in, at the very instant of departure, although they have no reference at all to the business in hand. I knew two counsellors, great and wise men, doubtless, and upon whom the weight of affairs then principally lay, whose constant and peculiar custom it was, as often as they conferred with princes about their own affairs, never to close their conference with any matter referring to that business; but always to seek diversions either to a jest, or something else, that was delightful to hear, and, as the adage is, "To wash off at the conclusion of all, their sea-water discourses with fountain water." And this was one of their chief arts.

PARAB. XI. As dead flies cause the best ointment to send forth an ill odour; so doth a little folly him that is in reputation for wisdom and honour." *Ecclef. x. 1.*

EXPLIC.

EXPLIC. The case of men eminent for virtue, is very hard and miserable; (as the parable excellently notes) because their errors, be they never so small, find no remission. But as in a pure diamond of great lustre, the least speck, or smallest cloud, strikes the eye, and affects it with a kind of trouble; which, in a grosser stone, would hardly be discerned: so, in men of singular abilities, the least infirmities are presently espied, talked of, and more severely censured; which, in men of moderate gifts, would either altogether pass without notice, or easily find pardon. Therefore in a very wise man, a little folly; in a very honest man, a small offence; in a man of courtly and elegant behaviour, a slight indecency of manners, derogates much from their fame and reputation. So that it would not be the worst course for extraordinary persons, to mingle some absurdities (as far as may be done without vice) in their actions; that they may retain a kind of liberty to themselves, and confound the notes and characters of smaller defects.

PARAB.

PARAB. XII. "Scornful men ensnare
 "a city, but wise men divert wrath."
Prov. xxix. 8.

EXPLIC. It may seem strange, that in the description of men, made, as it were, and by nature framed for the dissolution and ruin of states, *Solomon* hath chosen the character, not of a proud and insolent man, not of a tyrannical and cruel, not of a rash and violent, not of an impious and lewd, not of an unjust and oppressive, not of a seditious and turbulent spirit, not of an incontinent and voluptuous, nor, in fine, of a foolish and unable person; but of a scorner. But this is a judgment most worthy the wisdom of that king, who best knew the grounds of the conservation, or subversion of states. For there is hardly such another plague to kingdoms and commonwealths, as for counsellors of princes, or senators, and such as sit at the helm of government, to be by nature scorners. For such persons, that they may seem undaunted statesmen, ever extenuate the greatness of dangers; and insult over those that give them their just weight, as timorous and faint-hearted people. All ma-
 ture

ture delays in consulting and deliberating, and meditated debates of matters, they scoff at, as a matter of rhetoric, full of tediousness, and conducing nothing to the sum and issue of business. Fame, by which the counsels of princes should in an especial manner be framed, they despise as the "spittle of the mob," and as a thing that will soon blow over: the power and authority of laws they respect no more than as so many cobwebs, which should not presume to entangle matters of greater consequence: counsels and precautions that look forward to things at a distance, they reject as dreams and melancholy apprehensions; men really wise, and well seen in affairs, and of great resolution and counsel, they banter with gibes and jests: in a word, they at once weaken all the foundations of civil government. Which is the more to be attended, because the thing is done by mining and working under ground, and not by open force: and it is a practice which is not yet so suspected in the world, as it deserves.

PARAB. XIII. "A prince that lends a willing ear to lies, his servants are all wicked." *Prov. xxix. 12.*

EXPLIC. When a prince is of a temper to lend an easy and credulous ear without examination, to whisperers and sycophants, there breathes from the king's side a pestilential air, which corrupts and infects all his servants. Some search out the fears of a prince, and aggravate them with fictitious stories : others stir up the furies of envy, especially against the best men in the state : others wash away their own filth and stains of conscience, by accusations against other men : some give sail to the preferments, and promote the suits of their friends, by calumniating and traducing their competitors : others compose fabulous representations of their enemies, as upon a stage. And these are the arts of such of the prince's servants, as are of a vile and base nature. Nay, and those also that are of a more honest disposition and of better morals, when they perceive their innocence to be little or no security to them, (their prince not knowing how to distinguish between truth and falsehood) put off moral honesty, and by this means are tainted with servility and accommodation to the air of a court. For (as *Tacitus* says of *Claudius*) " There is no safety
" with

“ with that prince, into whose head all
 “ things are conveyed, by infusion and di-
 “ rection from others.” And *Comines* says,
 “ It is better to be a servant to a prince,
 “ whose jealousies have no end, than to a
 “ prince whose credulity has no mean.”

PARAB. XIV. “ A just man is merciful
 “ to the life of his beast; but the mercies
 “ of the wicked are cruel.” *Prov. xii. 10.*

EXPLIC. There is implanted in man's nature a noble and excellent affection of pity and compassion, which extends itself even unto brute creatures, that are by divine ordinance subject to his command. And therefore this compassion has some analogy with that of a prince towards his subjects. This is most certain, that the more worthy any soul is, the larger is its compassion. For narrow and degenerate souls imagine such things appertain not to them: but the mind that looks upon itself as a nobler portion of the universe, is kindly affected towards inferior creatures, out of the communion there is between them. Wherefore we see, that there were under the old law many pre-

cepts, not merely ceremonial, so much as instructive of mercy; as that of not eating blood with the life in it. Even in the sects of the *Essens* and *Pythagoreans*, they altogether abstained from eating flesh; which obtains even to this day, by an inviolable superstition with some inhabitants under the empire of the Mogul. Nay, the *Turks* (though a cruel and bloody nation, both by descent and discipline) are wont to bestow alms upon brutes, and cannot bear the vexation and torture of living creatures. But, least what we have said, should seem to countenance all sort of mercy, *Solomon* wholesomely annexes, "That the mercies of the wicked are cruel." These are, when wicked and villanous persons are spared, who ought to be cut off by the sword of justice: for this kind of mercy is more cruel than cruelty itself. For cruelty is exercised upon single persons only: but that kind of mercy, by a grant of impunity, arms and lets loose the whole band of villanous men upon the innocent.

PARAB. XV. "A fool utters all his mind; but a wise man reserves some-
" what for hereafter." *Prov.* xxix. 11.

—EXPLIC.

EXPLIC. This parable (it seems) corrects principally, not the futility of vain persons, that easily utter, as well what should not be spoken, as what should; nor that bold liberty, whereby, without discretion and judgment, they fly at both men and things; nor garrulity, whereby they disturb others with their babble, even to a surfeit: but another weakness, which is more secret, namely, a regimen of speech, which, of all other, is the least prudent and politic: it is this, when a man so orders his discourse in private conferences, as whatever he has in his mind, which he conceives pertinent to the matter in hand, to vent it at once, in one breath, and in a set continued speech: for this is a great prejudice to business. First, a speech broken off by interlocutions, and instilled by parts, penetrates much deeper than a continued one; because in a continued speech the weight of matters is not distinctly and particularly taken, nor does it by any rest or pause impress the mind deeply; but one reason drives out another, before it be fully settled in the mind of the hearer. Secondly, there is no man master of such powerful and persuasive eloquence,

as at the very first dash to strike the person he speaks to, utterly dumb and speechless; so as to prevent his making some reply again, and perhaps object somewhat on the other side. And then it falls out, that what should have been reserved for refutation, or replication, being anticipated and tasted before-hand, loses its strength and grace. Thirdly, if a man do not pour out all he has to say at once, but deliver it by parcels, first one thing, and then casting in another, he shall still find, by the looks and answers of the person he speaks to, how every particular passage has affected him, and in what manner they have found acceptance; that what is still remaining to be spoke, may, with greater caution, either be suppressed or selected.

PARAB. XVI. “ If the displeasure of a
 “ great man rise up against thee, forsake not
 “ thy place; for pliant demeanor pacifies
 “ great offences.” *Eccles. x. 4.*

EXPLIC. This parable advises how a man ought to demean himself, having incurred the anger and indignation of his prince. The
 precept

precept is compound : First, That he relinquishes not his place and office : Secondly, That with caution and diligence he attends the cure, as in case of some dangerous disease. For men are used, when once they have perceived their prince's displeasure against them, partly out of an impatience of disgrace, partly lest they should make the wound bleed afresh by coming into the presence, partly that their prince may see their sorrow and humility, to withdraw from their employments ; nay, sometimes to resign up the places and dignities they held, into their prince's hands. But *Solomon* disallows this way of cure, as hurtful and prejudicial ; and that certainly upon very good grounds. First, that course does too much publish the disgrace itself, from whence both enemies and enviers grow more bold to hurt, and friends more timorous to help. Secondly, By this means it comes to pass, that the wrath of the prince, which, if it had not been made public, would have died perhaps of itself, becomes now more fixed ; and having made an entrance, upon the man's overthrow, is carried on to his utter ruin. Lastly, This retiring fa-

vours something of a malignant humour, and of one fallen out with the times; which crowns the evil of indignation, with that of suspicion.

THE proper methods therefore or cure are these. First, Above all things let him take heed, lest, through any stupidity, or a haughtiness of spirit, he seem insensible of the prince's displeasure, or not to be so affected with it, as in duty he ought to be; that is, that he both compose his countenance, not to a contumacious sadness, but to a grave and modest pensiveness; and in all matters of employment, that he shew himself less pleasant and chearful than he was accustomed to be. It may be expedient likewise, to make use of the service and mediation of some friend with the prince, seasonably to insinuate with what sensible grief he is inwardly afflicted.

SECONDLY, Let him carefully avoid even the least occasion, whereby either the thing itself, which was the first cause of the indignation, may be revived; or the prince lay hold of a new occasion to be displeased with

with him again, and upon any account whatsoever, to chide him before others.

THIRDLY, Let him with all diligence seek occasion, wherein his service may be acceptable to his prince; that he may both shew a prompt and forward affection to redeem his past offences; and that his prince may understand what a good servant he may chance to lose, if he discharges him.

FOURTHLY. Let him either sagaciously lay the fault upon others, insinuate that it was committed with no ill intention, remonstrate their malice, who accused him to the king, or aggravated the matter above measure. To conclude, let him be every way diligent, watchful, and intent upon the cure.

PARAB. XVII. “ The first in his own
“ cause is just; then comes the other party
“ and enquires into him.” *Prov. xviii. 17.*

EXPLIC. The first information in any cause, if it sinks into the mind of the judge, takes deep root, seasons and prepossesses

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him;

him; so that it can hardly be opposed, unless either manifest falsehood be found in the matter of information, or some artifice in exhibiting and laying it open. For a bare and simple defence, though it be just and more weighty, is scarce of force enough to compensate the prejudice of the first information, or to reduce the scales of justice, once swayed down, to a balance. Therefore it is the safest course for the judge, that nothing touching the merits of the cause be intimated before-hand, until both parties be heard together; and it is best for the defendant, if he perceive the judge prepossessed, to labour this principally, as far as the cause will admit, to discover some cunning shift, and fraudulent dealing, practised by the adverse party, to the abuse of the judge.

PARAB. XVIII. "He that delicately
 " brings up his servant from a child, shall
 " find him contumacious in the end."
Prov. xxix. 21.

EXPLIC. Princes and masters, by the counsel of *Solomon*, are to keep a balance in the dispensation of their grace and favour
 towards

towards servants. This is three-fold : First, That they be promoted by steps, or degrees, and not too rapidly : Secondly, That they be now and then accustomed to repulses : Thirdly (which *Machiavel* well advises), that they have ever in sight before them something to which they may farther aspire. For unless these courses be taken, princes doubtless will reap in the end from their servants, disrespect and contumacy, instead of a grateful and dutiful affection. For from a sudden promotion arises insolence ; from a continual attainment of their desires, proceeds impatience of being denied : Lastly, where there is want of further desire, there will be want also of alacrity and industry.

PARAB. XIX. “ See’st thou a man of
 “ dispatch in his business ? He shall stand
 “ before kings, he shall not be ranked
 “ amongst mean men.” *Prov. xxii. 29.*

EXPLIC. Among the good qualities which princes, in the choice of servants, chiefly respect and require, celerity and alacrity in the dispatch of business, is, above all the rest, most acceptable. Men of profound
 wisdom

wisdom are suspected by kings, as prying into things with too piercing a sight; and able, by the strength of their wit, as with an engine, to turn and wind about their masters insensibly, whether they will or not. Then popular natures are hated, as those that stand in the light of kings, and draw the eyes of the people too much upon them. Men of courage are often taken for turbulent spirits, and more enterprising than is necessary. Honest men, and of an upright conversation, are looked upon as stiff and morose, and not pliable enough to every nod of their masters. To conclude, There is no other good quality, but is attended with some shadow, wherewith the minds of kings may be offended: but quickness of dispatch alone has nothing in it that can displease. The motions in the minds of kings are swift, and impatient of delays; for they imagine they can do any thing; and that this only is wanting, “That it be done “out of hand.” Therefore, above all things, celerity is most acceptable to them.

PARAB. XX. “I saw all the living which walk under the sun, with the succeeding

ceeding young prince, that shall rise up in his stead." *Eccles. iv. 15.*

EXPLIC. This parable notes the vanity of men, who are wont to press and flock about the designed successors of princes. Now the root of it is, that frenzy, which is deeply implanted by nature in the minds of men; namely, their being too fond of their own projected hopes. For the man is rarely found, that is not more delighted with the things he hopes for, than with the things he enjoys. Another thing is, Novelty is pleasing to man's nature, and earnestly coveted. Now in a successor to a prince, these two concur, *hope* and *novelty*. And the parable hints what was long ago said, first by *Pompey* to *Sylla*, and afterwards by *Tiberius* touching *Macro*; "That more
"men adore the rising, than the setting
"sun." Yet, notwithstanding, princes in possession are not much moved with this, nor make any great matter of it, as neither *Sylla* nor *Tiberius* did, but rather smile at the levity of men, and do not stand to fight with dreams; for *hope*, as is said, is "but
"the dream of a man awake."

PARAB.

PARAB. XXI. "There was a little city, and manned but by a few; and there was a mighty king that drew his army to it, and erected bulwarks against it, and intrenched it round. Now there was found within the walls a poor wise man, and he by his wisdom raised the siege, but none remembered that same poor man." *Ecclef. ix. 14, 15.*

EXPLIC. The parable sets forth the depraved and malignant nature of men, who in extremities commonly fly to men of wisdom and courage they before despised. But as soon as the storm is over, they become unthankful wretches to their preservers. *Machiavel*, not without reason, puts a question, "Which of the two has been more ungrateful to well-deserving persons, the prince, or the people?" But in the meantime he taxes both with ingratitude. Notwithstanding, this does not arise solely from the ingratitude of the prince or people, but there is generally added the envy of the nobility, who in secret repine at the event, though happy and prosperous, because it proceeds not from themselves. Therefore they

they both extenuate the merit of the act, and repress the author.

PARAB. XXII. "The way of the slothful is as a hedge of thorns." *Prov. xv. 19.*

EXPLIC. This parable points out most elegantly, that sloth, in the conclusion, proves laborious. For the effect of diligence, and of a sedulous preparation, is this, the foot does not strike against any impediment; but the way is made plain, before it is entered into. He that is slothful, and puts off all to the last moment of execution, must needs perpetually, and at every step, pass, as it were, through briars and brambles, which ever detain and entangle him. The same observation may be made also in the governing of a family; wherein, if there be due care and providence used, all things go on peaceably, without noise and tumult; but if those things be wanting, in case of any considerable commotion, all things come thronging in to be dispatched at once: the servants are in an uproar; the whole house rings, and there is nothing well done in that confusion.

PARAB.

PARAB. XXIII. “ He that respects persons in judgment doth not well; for that man will forsake the truth, even for a piece of bread.” *Prov. xxviii. 21.*

EXPLIC. The parable most wisely notes, that, in a judge, facility of temper is more pernicious than corruption by bribes. For all persons do not give bribes; but there is hardly any cause, wherein something may not be found, to incline the mind of the judge, if he respect persons. For one man shall be respected as his countryman; another, as a foul-mouthed man; another, as rich; another, as a favourite; another, as recommended by a friend: in short, all is full of iniquity, where respect of persons bears sway; and for a very slight matter, as for a mouthful of bread, judgment will be perverted.

PARAB. XXIV. “ A poor man that by extortion oppresseth the poor, is like a land-flood that causes famine.” *Prov. xxviii. 3.*

EXPLIC.

EXPLIC. This parable was, by the anti-ents, expressed under the fable of the two horse-leeches; the full and the empty one. For oppression by the poor and needy is far more heavy than oppression by the rich and the full; because it is such as narrowly seeks out all arts of exaction, and all corners for money. The same thing also was wont to be resembled to sponges, which, being dry, suck in strongly; but not so, when well moistened. It contains also an useful instruction to princes, that they commit not the government of provinces, or offices of charge, to indigent persons, and bankrupts; as also to people, that they suffer not their kings to struggle with too much want.

PARAB. XXV. “A just man falling
“before the wicked, is a troubled fountain
“and a corrupted spring.” *Prov. xxv. 26.*

EXPLIC. The parable advises, That States should, above all things, beware of an unjust and infamous judgment in any celebrated and weighty cause; especially where not only the guilty is acquitted, but the innocent condemned. For injuries ravaging a-

mong private persons, trouble indeed and pollute the waters, yet only in smaller streams; but such unjust judgments as I mentioned, from which precedents are fetched, infect and stain the very fountains of justice. For when once the tribunal sides with injustice, the state is turned into a public robbery, and it manifestly comes to pass, *Ut homo homini fit lupus*; "that one man becomes a prey to another."

PARAB. XXVI. "Make no friendship with an angry man; nor walk thou with a furious man." *Prov. xxii. 24.*

EXPLIC. The more religiously the laws of friendship amongst good men are kept and observed, the more caution is to be used from the very first in the prudent choice of friends. And the nature and humour of friends, so far as they concern ourselves only, are by all means to be born withal; but when they impose a necessity upon us, to behave ourselves just as they would have us towards other men, it is a very hard and unreasonable condition of friendship. Therefore it is of great moment, according to *Solomon's*

Solomon's precept, towards the peace and security of our life, to have no commerce with cholerick natures, and such as easily provoke, or undertake quarrels and debates. For such kind of friends will be perpetually engaging us in factions and contentions; so that we shall be constrained, either to break off friendship, or else be wanting to our own personal safety.

PARAB. XXVII. "He that conceals a fault seeks friendship; but he that repeats a matter, separates united friends."
Prov. xviii. 9.

EXPLIC. The way to compose differences, and to reconcile affections, is twofold: The one begins with an act of oblivion of what is past; the other, with a repetition of injuries, interwoven with apologies and excuses. I remember the opinion of a very wise person, and a great statesman; "He that treats a peace, without a recapitulation of the terms of difference, that man rather deludes mens minds with the sweet name of agreement, than equitably makes it up." But *Solomon*, a wiser man than he, is of a contrary opinion; ap-

proves pardon, but forbids repetition. For in repetition, or renewing the memory of the causes of difference, there are these inconveniencies: that it is, as it were, *Unguis in ulcere*, "Raking in the ulcer;" as also, that there is a danger of breeding a new quarrel, (for the parties will never agree about the reasons of the injuries.) And, lastly, that it brings the matter in the issue to apologies: whereas both parties had rather be thought to have remitted an offence, than to have admitted an excuse for it.

PARAB. XXVIII. "In every good work
" there shall be abundance; but where
" words do abound, there commonly is
" want." *Prov. xiv. 23.*

EXPLIC. *Solomon* distinguishes, in this parable, the fruit of the labour of the tongue from the labour of the hands; as if want were the product of the one, and abundance of the other. For it always comes to pass, that they who talk liberally, boast much, and promise mighty matters, are beggars, and receive no advantage from those things they talk of. Further, generally speaking, they are no way industrious, or diligent in
their

their employment: but only feed and fill themselves with words as with wind. [Certainly, as the poet says,

——— *Qui silet est firmus.* ———

HE that is conscious to himself of proficiency in his endeavours, applauds himself inwardly, and holds his tongue: on the other hand, he who knows within himself, that he is guilty of hunting after aerial applause, talks abundantly, and reports wonders unto others.

PARAB. XXIX. “ Open reprehension is better than secret affection.” *Prov. xxvii. 5.*

EXPLIC. This parable reprehends the softness of such friends as do not use the privilege which friendship gives them, in admonishing with freedom and boldness, as well their friends errors, as their dangers. “ For what shall I do? (will such a tender hearted friend say) or which way shall I turn myself? I love him as dearly as any man can do another: and if any misfortune should befall him, I would willingly put myself in his place: but I know his temper: if I deal freely with

F f 2

“ him

“ him, I shall offend him, at least chagrin
 “ him; and yet do no good: and I shall
 “ sooner alienate him from my friendship,
 “ than bring him off from those courses,
 “ which he has fixed and resolved upon in
 “ his mind.” Such an effeminate and worth-
 less friend as this, *Solomon* reprehends; and
 pronounces, that a man may reap more profit
 from a manifest enemy, than from such a
 friend. For he may chance to hear those
 things by way of reproach from an enemy,
 which a friend, through too much indul-
 gence, does but whisper.

PARAB. XXX. “ A wise man is wary
 “ of his ways; a cunning fool seeks eva-
 “ sions.” *Prov.* xiv. 8.

EXPLIC. There are two sorts of wisdom:
 the one, true and sound; the other, coun-
 terfeit and false, which *Solomon* makes no
 scruple to call folly. He that has applied
 himself, to the former, “ takes heed of his
 “ own ways and footings; forecasting dan-
 “ gers; studying remedies; using the as-
 “ sistance of good men, fencing himself
 “ against ill men; wary how he enters
 “ upon a business; and not unprovided of a
 “ retreat;

" retreat ; attent upon advantages, strenu-
 " ous against impediments ; with infinite
 " other things, which respect the govern-
 " ment of his own actions and steps." But
 the other sort is altogether made up of fallacies and crafty devices, and relies wholly upon hopes of circumventing others, and moulding them to his own fancy. This the parable deservedly rejects, not only as wicked, but foolish. First, it is by no means in the number of those things which are in our own power, nor yet is it directed by any constant rule ; but new stratagems must every day be contrived, the old failing, and growing out of use. Secondly, he that has got the name and mark of a cunning and crafty man, has utterly deprived himself of a principal instrument of action ; that is, trust : and therefore he shall find all things go cross to his desires. To conclude, these same acts and shifts, however fair they look, and please, yet are they most commonly frustrated ; which *Tacitus* well observes : " Crafty and audacious counsels
 " (says he) are joyful in the expectation ;
 " difficult in the management ; and sad
 " in the event."

PARAB.

PARAB. XXXI. "Be not righteous over-
 " much; nor make thyself too excessively
 " wise; why should'st thou unseasonably
 " sacrifice thy safety?" *Ecclef. vii. 16.*

EXPLIC. "There are times (as *Tacitus*
 " says) wherein great virtues are attended
 " with most certain ruin." And this befalls
 men eminent for virtue and justice, some-
 times suddenly, sometimes foreseen at a dis-
 tance. But if prudence be also added to their
 other accomplishments; that is, if they be
 wary, and watchful over their own safety,
 then they gain thus much, that their ruin
 comes suddenly, from counsels altogether
 hidden and obscure; whereby both envy
 may be avoided, and their ruin fall upon
 them unprovided. As for that *nimum* (over-
 much) which is set down in the parable, it
 is to be understood, not of virtue itself (in
 which there is no *nimum*) but of a vain and
 invidious affectation and ostentation,

SOMETHING resembling this, *Tacitus* in-
 timates touching *Lepidus*; setting it down
 as a miracle, that he had never been the au-
 thor of any servile sentence, and yet stood
 safe in such cruel times. "A thought (says
 " he)

“ he) comes into my mind, whether these
 “ things are governed by fate; or whether
 “ it lies also in our own power, to steer a
 “ middle course, at once free both from dan-
 “ ger and indignity, between deformed flat-
 “ tery, and abrupt and fullen contumacy.”

PARAB. XXXII. : “ Give occasion to a
 “ wise man, and his wisdom will be in-
 “ creased.” *Prov. ix. 9.*

EXPLIC. This parable distinguishes be-
 tween wisdom, grown and ripened into a
 true habit; and that which swims only in
 the brain and fancy, or is boasted in speech,
 but hath not taken deep root. For the for-
 mer, upon occasion present whereon to ex-
 ercise itself, is immediately roused, addresses
 itself to the business, and is so enlarged and
 dilated, that it seems greater than itself :
 but the latter, which, before occasion, was
 brisk and busy; now occasion is given, be-
 comes amazed and confounded, to so great
 a degree, that the very person, who presum-
 ed himself possessed of it, begins to doubt,
 whether his preconceptions of such wisdom
 were not mere dreams, and empty specu-
 lations.

PARAB.

PARAB. XXXIII. "He that praiseth his
 " friend aloud, rising early, it shall be to
 " him no better than a curse." *Prov. xxvii.*

14. *middle counte at once face both from and
 " hath benevolent mowed, yingibini bus toy "*

EXPLIC. Moderate and seasonable praises;
 uttered upon occasion, conduce much to
 mens fame and fortune: but praises im-
 moderate, noisy, and importunately poured out,
 profit nothing; nay rather, according to the
 sense of this parable, do a great deal of hurt.
 First, they manifestly betray themselves to
 proceed, either from excess of love and kind-
 ness; or that they are affected and designed;
 so that they may rather ingratiate them-
 selves with the person commended by false
 encomiums, rather than set him off by just
 and deserved eulogiums. Secondly, sparing
 and modest praises commonly invite such as
 are present to add something of their own
 to the commendation; on the contrary, pro-
 fuse and immoderate ones detract and take
 away something. Thirdly, (which is the
 principal point) too much magnifying a
 man stirs up envy; since all immoderate
 praises seem to tend to the reproach of others,
 who are no less deserving.

F I N I S.



